815
821

[For further information on Tongan ideas about astronomy, see Category 502.]

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

objection was that it had been the place of a god's house. Girls of Pangaimotu were warned not to bathe on the beach in front of this site lest the god steal them away. A girl thus ravished by the god either died shortly thereafter, or was never seen again.

Hina

The moon is regarded as the abode of Hina, the goddess of beauty and consort of the handsome god Sinilau. It is said that in the full moon, Hina can be seen seated under an *ovava* tree beating tapa on a tapa board (*tutua*). One informant mentioned a moon god named Mahina, which is also the designation of the physical moon itself and also of the months. The term *hinehina* refers to the whiteness of moonlight. The sun seems also to have been anthropomorphised, for he is characterized as the father of certain heroes (26, p. 111). There were, however, no temples to either the sun or the moon, nor were there any priests so far as I could learn.

Taufa

The full name of the deity Taufa is Taufaitahi or Taufa of-the-sea. His principal shrine seems to have been at Tatakamotonga, in Mua, the capital of Tongatabu. The temple, called Kikiloi, was located on the tract Ahau. This temple was not different from any ordinary Tongan house. There was also a temple of this god in the tract called Ahau in the present village of Hihifo, Lifuka Island, Haapai. In both Haapai and Tongatabu the god was believed to appear in the form of a white man-eating shark (*tenifa*). Should a *tenifa* kill anyone, the people considered that the god was angry and proceeded to present kava and other things to propitiate him. In Lifuka, the descendants of the former shark worshippers still live in the tract called Ahau. The head of the family today is David Ti.

Taufaitahi bears the distinction of having been the patron god of Taufaahau, later King George I.

Taufaahau was originally called as a small boy Ngininginiofolanga. His health was poor, so his parents brought him from Haapai to Tongatabu, taking him to the chief Vaea of Houma and to Maafutukuiaulahi of Vaini, whose daughter, Hoamofaleono, was Taufaahau's mother. Moreover, in that time there was a famine in Haapai. Vaea and Maafu took the boy to the temple of Taufaitahi at Mua and besought Kautae the priest to plead for him. They carried the boy into the god's house and then they brought a coconut to Kautae who spun it. When the coconut stopped, the eyes pointed skyward (out of the door of the house) and the sickness left the boy. If the coconut had pointed otherwise the boy would have died. The cause of the boy's sickness was unknown. The god was in the priest Kautae at the time of the cure. At the curing Kautae, while inspired, said to Taufaahau's family: "I'm going to cure him. I think he is better. I think I can make him better. If I can't you'd better take him to another god. I'll spin the coconut to see if he will get better."

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

Tui Tofua

I have given (26, p. 77) a number of tales about the god of Tofua Island, reputed to have been a chief's son who committed suicide by drowning and who was transformed into a huge man-eating shark. The father of Tui Tofua was named Vakafuhu (possibly the Tui Tonga Vakafuhu), and his tomb is said to be located on Tofua Island. It is of stone and very smooth and flat, rather different from a langi or royal tomb. The name of Tui Tofua's mother was Langitaetaea. The term Tui Tofua is not a title, but a personal name applied only to the individual who became a shark god. The title of the ruler of Tofua is Taufa Tofua.

Deities of Tongatabu Island

Collocott (9) has dealt so thoroughly with the deities of the Tongatabu Islands that I can hope to add only comments and minor details. I have already discussed Tui Haa Fakafanua and Taufa.

According to one informant, the god Taliaitupou, as well as the god Pulotu Katoa, was capable of stopping a hurricane if beseeched. If the people went to the house of Taliaitupou to secure cessation of a hurricane, upon returning to their homes the hurricane would be over. Collocott (op. cit. p. 230) states that one sacred object of Taliaitupou was a large black volcanic pebble. As there is another deity, namely, Fakafumaka or Vakafuhu, whose first name refers to a stone, it seems not impossible to me that the volcanic pebble referred to may be the sacred object of Fakafumaka rather than of Taliaitupou. The stone, which I saw at the Methodist headquarters in Nukualofa, is called Tui Ahau. A companion stone lies at Kolovai in Tongatabu and gives us an example of animatism among the Tongans, inasmuch as it is considered capable of bringing forth small pebbles. That white coral pebbles and black volcanic pebbles buried together will increase, is firmly believed by Tongans to-day.

The local deity of Nukualofa is said to have been a goddess named Popua. She was reputed to be endowed with poor legs and it is said in consequence Nukualofa people have poor legs. When the first missionary ship was off the island of Malinoa near Tongatabu, Popua informed the Tongans that she had come to them because of her affection, but that the white man's god that was coming in the ship was stronger than the native gods, all of whom had retired to Ata Island (north of Tongatabu), whither she too was going.

The god Vaiuka, who had his seat at Niutoua, manifested himself through the matapule priest Leha (op. cit. p. 233). Pulotu Katoa, a god who comes in for considerable notice from Collocott (op. cit. p. 162), seems to have been a very important deity in Tongatabu. According to Watkin (61), this god caused storms because of his displeasure over the introduction of Christianity.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Tongatabu Island]

Pulotu Katoa was a weather god controlling drought, hurricane, and rain. His sanctuary was at Kolonga, in northeastern Tongatabu, and his priest bore the title of Vakaahi. The site of his temple was called Haateiho and the temple itself was called Faletoonga (House-of-rites). The last Vakaahi died about 1878. I was able, however, to interview his son's son, Tangatailoa, and obtained from him the following information:

Vakaahi said that when the spirit of Pulotu Katoa entered him he felt that it completely filled him, and he felt that it was the god who spoke and not himself. The god inspired him only at the tract Haateiho. When there was a drought the Haa Ngata Motua and Haa Havea chiefs came from west Tongatabu to Mua, where they interviewed the Tui Tonga, preparatory to paying a visit to the temple of Pulotu Katoa. The offerings which were brought to the god were fine mats, tapa, and other forms of wealth. These were kept in a special storehouse near the priest's residence. Most of them were never used, but were allowed to decay. What the priest might need he took, however. One Tui Tonga bestowed upon the priest Vakaahi two pieces of land in Lapaha. They were called Ahotalakoloa and Faletoonga.

It is said that Takai, the chief of Pea, Tongatabu Island, once had an argument with the god Pulotu Katoa, while the god was incarnate in his priest. The argument centered around the ability of the god to create a hurricane. As a test Takai built a house and the god promptly blew it down. Then Takai built a second house of hard wood called *ngesi*. This was built very strongly with posts all around. The god tried in vain to blow it down. The remains of this house which was called Fakaveleatenge are still to be seen in Pea.

Another story refers to an occasion on which Fae, the younger brother of Takai, and his successor at Pea, besought Pulotu Katoa for rain to break a drought:

Fae called at Pea an assembly of the priests of all of the gods of Tongatabu. Each priest besought his god for rain, but to no avail. Then Fae suggested that they all proceed to Kolonga to beseech Pulotu Katoa for rain, at his shrine. This was done. Vakaahi, the priest instructed the visitors to prepare kava for the god stating that he would supply the water. The kava was chewed and placed in the bowl. Although it was a clear, hot day, a cloud appeared over the bowl and rain fell and filled it. Moreover, the rain continued to such an extent that it was up to the waists of the chiefs and priests in the kava circle. Fae insisted that they should not move, lest the god become insulted.

When the rain was over they set out for Pea, but Fae decided to remain at Ahau in Mua. Before the departure of the visitors Vakaahi's wife gave the priests and chiefs fresh tapa garments to replace the wet ones. Vakaahi asked Fae before his departure where he would spend the night, for he intended to have the rain cease until Fae had reached his destination. Fae replied that he would remain at Ahau in Mua for the night. The rain was withheld until he reached Ahau. The rest of the party went on to Pea, but in a heavy rain, for just as soon as Fae had reached his destination the rain commenced to fall again, as was foretold. Fae's purpose in stopping at Ahau was to visit the priest of the god Taufaitahi. Fae had a house of his own at Ahau.

It is to be noted that Farmer (23) states on the authority of early Methodist missionaries that Hikuleo was the most important deity of Tongatabu and the one for whom the *inasi* ceremony was held. Yet modern informants stress Pulotu Katoa and have little to say about Hikuleo. I suspect

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Lifuka Island]

South of the mound Lefelefevalu is a stone called Anganganiofae, which is said to be natural in formation but which looks like a fish having the head of a stingray (*fai*) and the tail of a shark (*anga*).

Deities of Lifuka Island

Aloalo seems to have been an important Haapai god with his sanctuary on the tract Fanganonu in Pangai, Lifuka Island. He seems to have been especially a weather god and was also consulted concerning future events.

The temple of the god was a Tongan house, one end of which was screened off with cane (*kaho*). The god was represented by a whale's tooth (*lei*) which was kept in this compartment covered by a fine mat (*kie*). "He stayed alone like a king and no one was with him." People who came to consult the god waited outside the house. They brought with them presents of food which they left in the anteroom of the house just within the entrance, but away from the compartment where the god dwelt. Food that was left by departing visitors would be found to have entirely disappeared upon their return and this was true even if the food was a hundred pound pig.

If people planned to voyage from Haapai to Tongatabu they brought food to Aloalo and inquired as to the most propitious time for setting sail. The god would tell them whether they should leave immediately or later, in order to enjoy good weather all of the way. He might also instruct the voyagers as to the most propitious time to return from Tongatabu. If they failed to regard his instructions they were likely to meet with mishap.

The "boat" of the god was the white tern (*tala*). When people went shark fishing they followed the god's bird so they might be led to a good fishing ground. The bird of the god seems to have been a captive white tern with a string tied to its foot. Today the white tern is still used as an indicator of good fishing grounds.

The god manifested himself by causing the whale's tooth to move or shake. However, prior to the shaking, a yellow butterfly, appearing at the front door of the god's house, indicated that the deity would shortly appear in the whale's tooth. The appearance of the yellow butterfly was to inform the priest of the god's impending visit. The people in general were apprised and would come to pray on such an occasion, particularly those people who had illness. It is said that the butterfly was not the god himself, but merely the messenger of the god.

Aloalo not only predicted the weather but he could also govern it, for example, being able to stop excessive rains when prayed to do so by the people. Aloalo's priest was called Vavanga (literally "to know everything"). He served as intermediary between the supplicants and the god. After the appearance of the yellow butterfly and the movements of the whale's tooth the god entered the priest, who would be convulsed by trembling. While in this state he delivered the message of the god to the people. The priest when inspired was seated, not reclining. The district in which the tract of the god was located was called Ahau, a name which refers to the ruling chief.

The daughter's son of the last priest Vavanga was living at the site in 1920, and my informant was himself the son's son of Vavanga. There was another sanctuary of Aloalo near the northern end of Lifuka Island at the village of Holopeka.

Aloalo went the same way as the rest of the Haapai gods when Taufaahau set out to destroy them. The priest of the god fled, however, so that he escaped the fate of other priests and priestesses who were put to death by Taufaahau.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 0U9 Tonga 0U9

[Lifuka Island]

An informant, Josiah Paluto of Pangai, Lifuka, gave me the following account of the god Ngaohaa: 776 [115]

The priestess much consulted by the chiefs of Pangai, Lifuka, was an old woman named Melaia who resided at Holopeka, on a tract that is situated in the hereditary lands of Tui Afitu, who lives in Vavau. The priestess resided in a heathen temple by herself and she was very powerful (mighty), "just like God"; for she was able to accomplish many things. She served the god Ngaohaa, who was also the deity of Fonoifua Island, which likewise belongs to Tui Afitu. [It seems likely that the god was Tui Afitu's tulelary deity.] 776 793

If she said it would rain, rain came. If she said it would blow hard, it did so. The people used to go to consult her. If a voyage was about to be undertaken and the priestess said it would blow, the voyage was abandoned for that day; but she would direct the people upon which day to sail, as the wind would be favorable on that day. If oil-making was to be done by the chiefs, the priestess would be asked if the weather would be fine or wet. If she said it would be fine, the oil-making was undertaken, but if she said it would be wet, the oil-making was deferred. 776 793 821 484 793 821

If a chief's child was sick, the child and a woman would be taken to the priestess and a finger cut off of the woman and offered as a sacrifice. The priestess would then be asked about the child's chances of recovery. The priestess would reply: "You must await the god's appearance." As they sat and waited they would see the priestess tremble and suddenly the god would appear in the form of a gecko (*moko*). The priestess would exclaim: "The god has appeared and you may return in peace, as the chief's offspring will live." The signs were easily read and depended upon the appearance or non-appearance of the god. 776 793 787 755 [782]

At other times chiefs would go to the priestess to consult as to future events. Melaia would say: "Wait here until the god appears." Presently he would appear, but the first thing the chiefs would notice would be the trembling of Melaia, who at the same time would bring up green vomit. Afterwards Melaia would say: "Chiefs and people, listen well to me. The god did damage last night. He ate man. Now these are the instructions to you. You chiefs can leave this place and rest. Come back tomorrow. In the meantime, the god and I will hold a consultation as to the reason of these recent happenings." 776 793 787

On one occasion Melaia consulted the god, who said to her: "This is what you must tell to the chiefs and people when they come tomorrow: One of the Tui Tonga's vessels left last night, but met with disaster enroute. A matapule of the Tui Tonga was coming on an errand for him; namely, to take away the Tui Haa Takalaua's daughter. As the vessel is wrecked, the message has not been delivered and the Tui Tonga's matapule is lost, he who is the son of Paku. He and many others were swallowed by a man-eating shark (*tenifa*). When the shark was opposite Holopeka it jumped ashore. Then the gecko went and ate the shark." Afterwards the gecko vomited through Melaia and it was green blood he vomited. The loss of the Tui Tonga's vessel had been unknown to the chiefs until Melaia informed them.

This was the answer that Melaia gave to the people the next day, saying: "This is what has happened regarding what you wanted to know."

Another informant, Ana Manu of Holopeka, had this to say regarding Ngaohaa: [115]

The people prayed and made obeisance to this god. There was a house for the god in the town of Holopeka. The situation of the house was called Tave, and the holy place (*potu tapu*) was called Pava. It was strictly prohibited for anyone to enter the place in which was the god. A basket was placed in the shrine. In it were a throwing club and a whale's tooth, which were wrapped in a piece of tapa (*fetaaki*) smeared with turmeric on the outside. 776 778

Should people come to pray to the god they remained outside and expressed their [782]

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Lifuka Island]

In making obeisance to the god on the occasion of some disaster, the people would place around their necks wreaths of *ifi* leaves and don white tapa on their heads. They would remain outside and make obeisance. If their purpose was the cure of a sick person, the person would be brought on a kind of litter or bier and placed outside where the people were sitting. The patient would be massaged and anointed by the priest and would recover. 776 782 755 [757]

In the holy place were various trees. Should anyone pluck of them that person would fall down near unto death. If taken to the god, he would recover. If the carriage to the god's house was not speedy, death would result. 776 778 784 753

When the god entered into Havea, his priest, it was noticed that Havea trembled. His face changed color and he "looked dreadful." Havea had concubines who resided in the place called Manikolo. These were allotted separate periods with Havea and slept with him in pairs, one to be with him in the day time and the other to be with him in the night time. 776 793 787 [595]

The people said prayers to Uluenga. The god had his graveyard which was called Haa Fakanapa. 776 782

There was a god in Koulo, Lifuka, whose name was Tangakina. The name of his premises where he had a home, was Nahakalau. People prayed and made supplication to him. If persons were sick they would go to the god's place. They remained outside of his house, however, bending the body in respect. The god also had a water hole called Faatoto, which means "often blood stained." [778] [516] [778] [823]

Deities of Foa Island

In addition to the account of the god Tui Haa Fakafanua (p. 297), the informant Mesake Lomu of Fotua, gave me this report of another god of Foa Island:

Fakatoufifita was the god of the chief Niukapu in Fangaleounga, Foa. The people prayed to Fakatoufifita and if any person was sick, they would cut off the finger of another and take it to Fakatoufifita as an offering, which was wrapped in an unfinished piece of tapa (*fetaaki*). The patient would immediately recover. [755]

The god (priest?) lived in his house in Fangaleounga on the premises known as Fungasi. There was a sacred basket of the god's, inside of which were two objects, a whale's tooth and a parcel of turmeric. [793] [778]

Deities of Haafeva Island

Tonu and Lahe, presumably male deities, were mentioned as being associated with a well or spring which was regarded as their property. The spring is called Matahiva. 776 778 [823]

Deities of Fotuhaa Island

My informant did not know the name of the patron deity of Fotuhaa, but said that the name of the tract in the bush where the priest of the god lived was Laulea. This god seems to have been besought if there was a drought, the people bringing coconuts and wreathes (*sisi*) and making kava in front of the god's house. [821] [782]

The god, while in possession of the person of the priest, drank the kava. After the kava drinking the spokesman of the people, usually a matapule, would tell the god that the island had been long without rain and that rain was desired. The god, speaking 776 793 787 821

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

through the priest, would reply, "Very well, you may prepare for rain. Fix the leaky roofs, bring food, and prepare everything for the rain. In four or five days it must rain." On one particular occasion the sixth day dawned without a cloud in the sky, but by three o'clock in the afternoon the rain clouds had assembled and the rain had begun. The rain lasted for the period which the god had predicted. The Fotuhaa people always followed this procedure whenever they wished rain.

When the missionaries were about to come to Fotuhaa, the god informed the people that he was going to leave and to take up his residence on the islands of Kao and Tofua. He knew in advance of the coming of the missionaries. The informant, a Fotuhaa man, seemed to consider the god and the priest as practically identical. At least he designated both by the term *taula tevolo*.

This same mode of identifying priest and god was common to most all of the informants I interviewed concerning the gods.

Deities of Haano Island

The god of Tui Haa Ngana, the ruler of Haano Island, was called Feinga Uteo (To-earnestly-desire-sugar-cane). Nothing was learned about the attributes or functions of this god. The sanctuary of Hikuleo on this island has been discussed earlier.

Another god of Haano, and one quite prominent also in Tongatabu Island, was Haele Feke.

The sanctuary of this god in Haano was located on the tract which was owned by the Tui Kanokupolu and was under the care of the matapule Kioa. Haele Feke was thought to know beforehand what was about to occur. The coming of the god was indicated by an octopus (*feke*) coming from the sea to the tract where the priest lived. When an octopus thus came, the Tui Kanokupolu's matapule Kioa brought tapa and coconut leaf mats (*takapau*). The mats were placed on the ground and the tapa on top of them, so that the incarnation of the god might rest upon them. The octopus in which the god became incarnate might be either a white or a brown octopus. The priest of the god was himself named Feke (Octopus). After the message of the god had been delivered the priest took the octopus from the pile of tapa to the water. The coming ashore of the octopus was regarded as a harbinger of coming events and such a visit was followed by some anxiety on the part of the people. On one occasion a number of sick people died a few days after the visit of the god. It was then believed that the visit was ominous of their forthcoming death. It is said that the house of the priest was half a mile from the beach and on a site called Fotuamua. It seems inconceivable that an octopus could travel such a distance overland. It would seem more likely that he was received at the beach by the priest. The Tongan informant, from whom the above information was obtained, was unable to say whether the god Haele Feke was male or female.

Deities of Moungaone Island

There were two brother gods in Moungaone. Moso was the name of the elder, Pusipapanga the younger; their father was Tutumatua; the mother, Finetaunganoa. Toke was the priest for both gods. Their incarnations were human in form and manifested themselves in one house on the tract Nukutuli. They lived in a rock on Moungaone called Mosomaka, which was about ten feet high, round and hollow and could be entered. It was tapu; people dared not go near it under penalty of death. The god Moso was the same as Moso in Samoa. The priest Toke shook when inspired and

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

told the people that the gods wished pigs and other food, and when they saw the priest shaking they knew the god wanted something. There is no descendant of the present Toke living in Moungaone to-day. Kava Moungaone is the chief of Moungaone, and the two gods were his patrons.

A third deity of Moungaone was the fish god Fakapatu (26, p. 81).

Deities of Nomuka Island

Folautaofi was a god of Nomuka living in a hill called Fungaholu. The people prayed to this god and if anyone was sick, a person of his family sacrificed a little finger to the god. If a boat came from another place and then wanted to return but could not because of strong wind, the people thought it was because the god was living in the top of the mast of the vessel. The mast was then taken down, when the wind quieted and the sea became smooth, so that they had a good day to go, the mast was set up again. In the hill is a big hole with many human bones. It is thought that Folautaofi lived in this hole and ate men. The "boat" of the god was the *kakafatu*, a shellfish which is not eaten by the people.

Fehuluni, a deity who appears in various parts of the kingdom, is a frequenter of Nomuka especially (p. 292).

Deities of Uiha Island

Of the several deities of Uiha concerning whom I obtained information, Hikuleo (p. 292) and Tokeimoana (9, p. 234) have been to some extent described. Tokeimoana (Eel-in-the-ocean) became incarnate in the eel, as his name implies.

Tokeimoana's house, called Hakaumama (Reef-of-the-world), was in the bush on a tract called Fongolongo. A priest named Hakaumama lived there and was fed there and told the people whatever the god wanted. Sometimes the priest would say to the people, "The god has arrived and is desirous of dining on pork." Thereupon the people would bake a pig and give it to him. Or he would demand some tapa; whereupon they would cut off a piece and give it to him.

When there was any sickness, a healthy man or woman was brought to the priest to have a little finger amputated and taken to the god's house and offered as a sacrifice. The person selected was a child of the sick person's mother's brother (*tuasina*), in other words, an inferior cross-cousin. Some of the sick got well.

Taufaahau (afterwards King George I) and his family bowed down before the god Tokeimoana. They were forbidden to eat sea eel, but the people who were not worshippers might eat it. The people who worshipped this god had to lie exposed on the spot where the eel had been broiled or baked even if the fire was still burning. If they knew it was the place where their "god" had been killed they would go off in another direction so as to avoid coming close to it. Whenever the eel in which the god was incarnate crawled about on dry land, the people assembled at the god's house and talked to it and when it returned to the water they left.

Haveakai was another Uiha god but was worshipped only at Felemea. The priests of this god, after conversion to Christianity, bore the name Malakai. I could not learn the Tongan name. The priest is said to have manifested the usual trembling when the god entered him. People near death were brought to him and finger sacrifices offered by some one of the sick person's relatives. So far as I can learn the operation of cutting off a finger joint was never performed by the priest himself, but always by one of the supplicants. The informant did not know what animal constituted the "boat" of the god. Offerings of food brought by the people to this god would be completely consumed by Malakai, if he were inspired, or as the Tongan informant put it, he could

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

his head on his left shoulder caught hold of his bamboo pillow with his right hand ready to strike the rat as soon as it came within reach. Slowly, but with a seeming purpose, the rat crept down the post and suddenly with a swing of his pillow Hina's father hit the rat fair and square. He got up to look for it but nothing could be found, not even a blood stain and yet he struck the rat. At the same time the wailing (*tangi*) announcing death arose in the house where Hina's mother was. 774

"Well, Latu," I asked, "what had the rat to do with it?" He gave me a withering glance of contempt, lit another match, and answered in tense tones. "That rat, Tama, was the spirit of Hina's mother coming to bid her child farewell."

The other day a man called Fine was riding from Pukotala to here (Haano) and just inside this town he had to pass the graveyard known as Hokiholi or Tukia, where his cousin, Tukia, the son of Vake—mentioned elsewhere, lay buried. The pony took a sudden fright at something and started to bolt, with the result that Fine got knocked off and rendered unconscious. His version of the accident is as follows, "I was coming along gently from Pukotala and just as I was passing Hokiholi, Tukia rose up, caught hold of the bridle and dragged the horse along, when suddenly he gave me a blow on the side of my head and I knew no more. I must have done Tukia some injury when he was alive or have spoken evilly of him since he was dead, but I do not remember." The people here firmly believe that Fine was knocked off by ghosts, and in broad daylight too. 775

In July 1909, William Maealiuaki, Governor of Haapai, was taken sick in Lifuka. The so called medico wasn't sure if it was paralysis or heart disease! But anyhow, one midday the Governor called out that somebody had entered the window and was pulling the mosquito curtain down. His wife rushed into the room, but nobody was there, but standing on the grass plot in front of the house was a man dressed in guardsman's uniform. The figure had its back to the woman and as she moved forward it vanished. Since Maealiuaki's death the natives have it, that evil spirits were the cause of his death. This same vision also scared a woman who should have gone to the funeral and remained there afterwards with the widow, as is the Tongan custom, but neglected to do so. On the day of the funeral she was surprised to see a man standing at her doorway; half frightened, she closed the door in the intruder's face, only to see it appear immediately at the door on the other side of the house. That decided her, she packed off post haste to the funeral. [761]

When I told the natives in the town of Fakakakai of the Governor's death, they said, "The mist on the water this morning was a sure sign." And so it holds in Tonga: to see a mist on the sea in the early morning forbodes the death of some high chief. 763 821

DIVINATION

A number of terms apply to divination. To forewarn, to premonish is *talakeikapa*. The predicting of future success or failure by appropriate incidents taken as signs is *talotalo*. For instance, a medical practitioner calls to treat a sick boy, finds him asleep. "Oh!" says the practitioner, "his sleeping is my *talo*. I shall cure the boy." The ability to foretell, a sort of inward light, is *kikite*. It differs from mana, but is allied to dreaming (*misi*) in character. Something (a spirit or god, one informant thought) comes to the diviner (*tongafisi*) and tells him what will happen tomorrow 787

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

If a girl with absent lover sneezes frequently it is a sign she is loved. The girl will say to herself: "He loves me." In addition, if anyone sneezes it is regarded as a sign that someone is talking about the sneezer or that someone is in love with the sneezer, and a common comment of bystanders is, "Kuo ofa mai" (there is love for this one). Sneezing at times presages misfortune. Thus, if a woman making tapa sneezes and some one is very ill in her family at the time, it is a sign that the sick person will soon die. Sneezing when asleep is also an omen of death. If the sneezer lies on his right side, the death will be on the father's side of the family, if on his left side on the mother's side of the family, if on his back it is a sign of the sneezer's own death. The evil portent of sneezing on the eve of an important undertaking is well illustrated by Mariner (41, vol. 1, p. 440).

Shadows seen in a cave called Anafakaata, at Haasini, Tongatabu, are portentous of either health or death. Upon entering this cave usually a number of shadows of the visitor is seen. If only one or three shadows appear, it is a sign that death is near to the one so shadowed; if two or four shadows appear, good health is assured. Shadows are not commonly ominous.

The appearance of an illuminated vessel at night was anciently, and still is, regarded as an omen of the death of a person of rank. Such a ghost vessel is called a *vakaloa*. In the first half of 1921 an illuminated "steamer" was seen off Lifuka Island a few nights prior to the arrival of the regular passenger steamer. It is said to have been seen by many people. It was probably a real steamer, but at any rate a few months later the ailing wife of the Governor of Haapai died. Mr. W. H. Murley relates that on the night previous to the death of Maealiuaki, the Governor of Haapai, a man called Osai and his wife were fishing on the island Uoleva (the adjoining island south of Lifuka) when suddenly they saw a sailing boat bearing up from the southeast and lighted with various colors. They waited to see no more and promptly fled into the bush.

Very loud thunder accompanied by much lightning presages war or other dire disaster. Thunder in December foretells the approach of the *o* fish. Thunder during a heavy windstorm which people apprehend might turn into a hurricane, is a sign that it will not. The last two statements seem to be in the nature of empirical observations rather than true omens. There was said to have been no individual who especially interpreted the thunder and lightning omens. An old poem refers to "thunder giving omen of war" and to Toutai (Navigator) Ula's "thunder from the west."

A land fog presages the death of a high chief. Such a fog is said to have preceded the death of the late king, George II. Murley, quoted above, mentions an ominous sea fog.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Certain natural phenomena, though not being regarded as ominous, sometimes caused alarm. Earthquakes were believed to be caused by the movements of one of the Maui who is thought to support the earth. The apparent movement of the sun to the northern tropic was observed, though not the motive for alarm or ceremony. When the sun was farthest north the season was called *faahi tau momoko* (cold season). It marked the beginning of the year and the time of yam planting. When the sun was at the southern tropic the season was called *faahi tau mafana* (warm season).

An expected eclipse of the moon which occurred in October, 1920, though causing no alarm, was regarded as indication of strong wind in a few days. The moon eclipse is called *mate mahina* (death of the moon). Similarly an eclipse of the sun is called *mate laa*. Apparently the infrequency of sun eclipses is one reason why they cause alarm. One occurred in 1918 and was evidently the first seen by many people. Although they had been forewarned by a visiting astronomer, intense alarm prevailed. The informant who had never seen one before, and who was in the bush at the time, ran for his village as fast as possible. He said the ancient belief was that the sun was a god and was angry with people and showed anger by going out. Evidently some of this belief still survived in 1918.

The activities of certain birds and lizards were believed to be especially pregnant with indications of forthcoming events. The Tongans, even to-day, take cognizance of these movements to an extent that suggests the Malaysian observation of animal movements. The gecko (*moko*) is everywhere in Tonga an omen animal. It is regarded particularly as a barometer of impending weather conditions. If it remains quiet, good weather is indicated, if it is very active, a storm is imminent. This little lizard, sacred to the god Tui Haa Fakafanua, was taken aboard vessels anciently as a barometer. Another weather indicator is the frigate bird (*lofa*), rare in Tonga, whose appearance presages a gale or hurricane. The barking of dogs at night without evident cause is a sign of the presence of ghosts. Dogs bore place and personal names anciently and were fondled and talked to by their masters (usually chiefs). There was no belief that it was dangerous to address conversation to a dog.

Birds played by far the most important part as omen givers. The calling of the owl (*lulu*) immediately after lamplighting is a sign of a pregnant woman in the house, and if the owl calls over a house in the middle of the night, it is a sign of impending death. If the gallinule (*kalae*) cries close to a house, it is also considered a notification of impending death. A number of *fuleheu* birds (*Ptilotis carunculata*) flying together in a particular formation is called *fata* (bier) and is a sign of death. Another evil omen of the *fuleheu*, called *sipa*, consists in a number of them sounding the note of alarm. If a cock crows, soon after the time when the fowls

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

A woman whose husband had recently died came with her children to a missionary. She said the children were sickly. Consumption appeared the obvious trouble, but she wanted the missionary to pray with them, maintaining that there was a curse somewhere. She had learned from conversation in their village that the children's grandfather had had a pact (held the book, *puke tohi*) with his *tuofefine* (sister or female cousin) and had concluded that this was the reason for all the disaster.

A man had been sick for sometime, and so all his family were cross-examined as to their acts. It developed that one of his sons had gone to Niuafoou some time before with his cousin's wife. He was supposed to look after her on the voyage and performed his duties too tenderly. That was the reason of his father's illness, so it was thought, but whether the son's confession did the old man any good was not learned.

On page 334 I have recounted an incident in which the child of a Tui Tonga became ill because of the intrigue of its mother, while the Tui Tonga was in Haapai. Certain other acts were believed to have serious consequences for one doing them. (See pp. 18, 118, 335, 343, 344.)

Dreams of a certain type are believed to cause certain ailments. (See p. 337.)

To kill the white tern when on a voyage is believed to bring illness. To point at a rainbow, or at the setting sun, is believed to give one elephantiasis in the arm. It is not injurious, however, to look at a rainbow.

If women, bathing in a certain pool or passing near the western cemetery at Maufanga, Tongatabu, saw a gecko, they said that Tui Haa Fakafanua (a god who becomes incarnate in the *gecko*) had entered one of them because he liked her. Pining away and death were the result. Even today, when a girl at Maufanga dies, it is often said that Tui Haa Fakafanua has caused her death. Convent girls from the Hahake district of Tongatabu are said to be particularly liable to such attacks because the Hahake people and the Maufanga people were formerly at enmity.

Other gods or demons were also believed to enter into living persons and cause illness. To drive out such an unwelcome tenant, the affected part of the body was tightly held and massaged, working the demon to an extremity of the body to force him out, at the same time using magic words.

In November, 1920, there occurred an alleged attack by the spirit of a dead man.

A number of girls from the convent at Maufanga, Tongatabu, were gathering shellfish at Anana, in the lagoon at Tongatabu. One of the girls said that she was attacked by the spirits of three of her deceased relatives, who approached her in a boat while she was standing on the reef. Her symptoms were bleeding from the nose and cramps in the legs, and she declared that her deceased mother's brother, David Alatoa, struck her on the nose. The attack was of course not seen by her companions.

Mr. W. H. Murley relates the following:

A man from Vavau, a short time ago, died suddenly in a village called Fakakakai in Haapai from hemorrhage of the lungs. A man from the village came into the store on the day he died and was discussing the matter with a woman from here (Pukotala) in the course of which she said that he (the deceased) might have been struck by evil spirits and then enquired if he had any relatives buried here. The answer was that his mother had died in Fakakakai, on hearing this the woman immediately said, "There, that is the reason of his sudden death."

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

they chose upon mortals: but he entreated the god to use his influence with the other powers of Bolotoo, that they might not take offence at what Finow had said in the morning, which was merely spoken on the impulse of the moment, when warmly agitated with sentiments of affection for his daughter, and not from any real disrespect to the gods: he supplicated him also to have regard to the general good of the islands, and not by depriving them of Finow, to involve the whole nation in anarchy and confusion. The priest remained some time in silence, and was much affected: at length he announced that the gods of Bolotoo had, for a long time past, debated among themselves with regard to the punishment they should inflict upon Finow, for the many instances he had shewn of disobedience to religious precepts, and of exceeding disrespect for divine power; that they had at first resolved upon his death, but that he (Toobó Totái) having repeatedly interceded in his behalf, some of the other gods also took his part; in consequence of which there arose very violent dissensions in Bolotoo; not, as he explained to them, by actual fighting, for gods are immortal, and can neither be killed, wounded, nor hurt, but by urgent and potent arguments, which had occasioned, he said, the late high winds and tremendous thunder.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

got ready a carronade, which had hitherto not been used, on account of its having been spiked. Having nothing wherewith to drill the touch-hole, he collected together a vast quantity of wood, and made a large fire, in the midst of which was the gun, of which, when hot, he readily cleared the touch-hole: it was then mounted upon a carriage. Thus Finow had three guns, six barrels of powder, and plenty of shot, for almost all the shot which had been fired in the former attacks upon the garrison were again found and collected. Finow also sent a canoe to the islands of Togoo, to the N. W. of Vavaoo, to collect a cargo of round black pebbles, which are found there in abundance, to serve as shot. With all this ammunition, Finow was far superior to Toobó Toa, who had only two guns, and was withal very short both of powder and shot. All these preparations, however, were never required, for, shortly after, Tonga Mana's canoe arrived, bringing intelligence that Toobo Toa had proceeded with his army to the assistance of the garrison before spoken of in the island of Tonga.

About this time there happened a very heavy storm of thunder and lightning, which is always considered ominous by the natives, and esteemed the harbinger of some great event,

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

such as invasion, death of a great chief, arrival of an European ship, &c. This event therefore produced, as it generally does, considerable anxiety in the minds of the people; and this anxiety was much increased by the dreams of several women. One dreamed that during the time of the *inachi*, Tooitonga, at the head of a number of hotooas, attacked them, and broke to pieces the consecrated yams; another, that she had been at Bolotoo, and heard a decree of Higooleo, (one of the principal hotooas,) that Vavaoo should shortly experience some great calamity, because the people had neglected some particular and important ceremonies. In this state of the public mind, parties were sent to the outer islands to keep a perpetual watch, and to bring immediate intelligence of any canoe that might appear. In the course of a little time it was remarked that Tooitonga decreased considerably in size, losing flesh every day, although otherwise in good health; it was not long, however, before he began to complain of weakness and loss of appetite. His illness beginning thus to be confirmed, occasioned his relations and attendants to have recourse to the usual ceremonies on such melancholy occasions. Accordingly every day one or other of his young relations had a little finger cut off, as a propitiatory offering to the

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

amazed at the wisdom of the Papalangies, and he wished to visit them, that he might acquire a mind like theirs. The doctrine of the sun's central situation and the consequent revolution of the planets he thought so sublime, and so like what he supposed might be the ideas and inventions of a God, that he could not help believing it, although it was not quite clear to his understanding. What he seemed least to comprehend was how it happened that the antipodes did not fall into the sky below (as he expressed it), for he could not free his mind from the notion of absolute *up* and *down:* but he said he had no doubt, if he could learn to read and write, and think like a Papalangi, that he should be able to comprehend it as easily as a Papalangi, for, he added, the minds of the Papalangies are as superior to the minds of the Tonga people as iron axes are superior to stone axes!—He did not, however, suppose that the minds of white people were essentially superior to the minds of others; but that they were more clear in consequence of habitual reflection and study, and the use of writing, by which a man could leave behind him all that he had learnt in his lifetime.

One day as Mr. Mariner was sharpening an axe, and Finow was turning the grind-stone, the latter observed that the top of the stone was

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

not only always wet, but so replete with water that it was constantly flying off in abundance on the application of the axe; this on a sudden thought puzzled him; it seemed to him strange that the superabundance of water should not run off before it got to the top: Mr. Mariner began his explanation, thus, "In consequence of the quick successive revolutions of the stone" —when on a sudden Finow eagerly exclaimed (as if a new light had shot across his mind) "Now I understand why the antipodes do not "fall off the earth,—it is in consequence of the "earth's quick revolution!"—This was a false explanation, and he himself soon saw that it was, much to his disappointment; but it shews the activity of his mind, and how eager it was to seize every idea with avidity that seemed to cast a radiance upon the object of his research.

On another occasion they were returning to Vavaoo from the Hapai islands, where the king had been to fetch some of his property, consisting chiefly of things which originally belonged to the officers of the Port au Prince: among others there was a box containing sundry small articles and a pocket compass; the latter he did not know the use of, and had scarcely yet examined. During the whole day it was nearly calm, and the paddles were for the most part used: a breeze, however, sprang up after dark,

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

the king's family, but very frequently by Tóe Oomoo. He has a large consecrated fencing at Ofoo, one of the islands in the vicinity of Vavaoo: he has, at least, one priest, and is very frequently consulted in behalf of sick persons.

A'LO A'LO; literally, *to fan.* God of wind and weather, rain, harvest, and vegetation in general. This god is generally invoked about once a month, if the weather is seasonable, that it may remain so; if the weather is unseasonable, or destructive on shore by excessive wind or rain, he is invoked every day. A'lo A'lo is not the god of thunder and lightning, of which, indeed, there is no god acknowledged among them, as this phenomenon is never recollected to have done any mischief of consequence. In boisterous weather at sea, the superior god Toobo Toty', the protector of canoes, and other sea gods, are always invoked in place of A'lo A'lo. About the time when the yams are full grown (near the latter end of December), the ceremony of *tow tow* begins, consisting in an offering of yams, and other provisions, to the god A'lo A'lo. This ceremony is repeated every ten days, for eight times successively, as will be described under the head of religious rites. This god has only two houses dedicated to him, one at Vavaoo, and the other at Lefooga: he has also two priests, one at each place.

A [the god Ala''i Va'loo--Analyst]

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) /1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

they have the power of inspiring priests, and of appearing in dreams and visions to their relatives and others. They have no houses dedicated to them, but the proper places to invoke them are their graves, which are considered sacred, and are therefore as much respected as consecrated houses. Their names are the same as they had whilst living, and they hold the same rank mutually among themselves as they held during their mortal existence; and whether their deeds were good or evil during their life, is a circumstance that does not at all affect their state in Bolotoo, all punishments for crimes being supposed to be inflicted by the primitive gods upon men during their lifetime; in which inflictions the second class of gods have a proportional power with the first. As many of these souls of nobles have had strong warlike dispositions in this world, it might be supposed that they waged war against one another in Bolotoo; but this is not the case, for, in that state of existence, their understanding is much more clear than in this world, enabling them to discern what is right, and disposing them to choose it in preference to what is wrong: not but what they, and even the primitive gods, have verbal disputes, but which, from the clearness of their intellect, and the justice of their views, are supposed to be managed with divine

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

temperance; but as the temperate discussion of gods may appear awful violence to weak-minded man, so it is not to be wondered that such disputes at Bolotoo should produce thunder and lightning at Tonga; as happened in the discussion among the gods respecting the fate of Finow and his daughter. (Vide vol. I.)[A]

The Souls of Matabooles come next: of these little need be said; they hold the same name and rank as during their life. They have not the power of inspiring priests; they cannot punish nor reward mankind, at least by any direct influence; though their friends and relatives sometimes beg their intercession with the higher gods, in behalf of their health, or prosperity, &c. They have no houses dedicated to them; they sometimes appear to their friends. Some of them are tutelar gods, and protectors of the *tooas*, or lower orders, which they are, as it were, by permission.

The Attendants, or Servants of the Primitive Gods. These, like the gods to whom they belong, are original inhabitants of Bolotoo. They are considered of less quality than the souls of matabooles. They have no power in Tonga, and if they go there they cannot manifest themselves. Their number is supposed to be immense.

The Hotooa Pow, or mischievous Gods.—

A [See 2: Mariner, category 116, pp. 350-378--Analyst]

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

has a flat surface, ending abruptly, which the sky overarches. If you ask them why the sea does not run over, the answer will be, "How "can I tell? I have never been there to see; "there are rocks, or something to border it, "probably." With regard to the sun and moon, they pass through the sky, and come back some way, they know not how. As to the spots in the moon, they are compared to the figure of a woman sitting down and beating *gnatoo:* when the moon is eclipsed, they attribute the phenomenon to a thick cloud passing over it: the same with the sun.

Respecting the human soul, in particular, they imagine it to be the finer or more æriform part of the body, and which leaves it suddenly at the moment of death; and it may be conceived to stand much in the same relation to the body as the perfume and more essential qualities of a flower do to the more solid substance which constitutes the vegetable fibre. They have no proper word to express this fine ætherial part of man: as to the word *loto*, though it may be sometimes used for this purpose, yet it rather means a man's disposition, inclination, passion, or sentiment. The soul is rather supposed to exist throughout the whole extension of the body, but particularly in the heart, the pulsation of which is the strength

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

party, where an inspired priest sits at the head; the circumstances of inspiration we have already related, (Vol. I. p. 99.) and the form of serving out the cava when a priest presides, (Vol. II. p. 194.) The phrase *cava fucca egi* means literally, *a god-like cava.* Laying a small piece of cava root before the grave of a chief or consecrated house, out of respect to a god, or to a deceased relation, is called *toogoo cava*, and will be mentioned in its proper order.

Tow-tow is an offering of yams, cocoa-nuts, and other vegetable productions to A'lo A'lo (the god of weather) in particular, and to all the gods in general, for the purpose of ensuring a continuation of favourable weather, and consequent fertility. This ceremony is first performed at the time when the yams are approaching maturity, in the early part of November, and is repeated every ten days for seven or eight times. On the day appointed by the priest of A'lo A'lo, every plantation on the three parts of the island, viz. the *hahagi*, *mooa*, and *hihifo** districts provide a certain quantity of yams, cocoa-nuts, sugar-canes, bananas, plantains, &c. all which are brought to the *malái*, tied upon sticks, so that each stick, when held horizontally, has

* *Hahagi* is the north end of any island; *hihifo* the south end: the *mooa* part of the island being the centre.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

degree of credit, and charms, which they sometimes practise, are more or less connected with their religion, we shall say something of them, before concluding the present subject. Most of their omens we have already had occasion to mention, and have given instances of in the course of the narrative. As to dreams, (see Vol. I. chap. 4 and 14.) Thunder and lightning (same vol. chap. 12 and 14.) Sneezing (same vol. chap. 14.) These omens obtain almost universal credit; and they are thought to be direct indications from the gods of some event that is about to happen. There is a certain species of bird which they call *chicota'*, which is very apt to make a sudden descent, and dart close by one, making a shrieking noise: this bird they suppose to be endowed with a knowledge of futurity, and they consider this action to be a warning of some evil that is about to happen.

As Mr. Mariner was once going out with the present king, and a party of men, upon some excursion against the enemy, one of these birds made a sudden descent, passed over their heads, settled on a tree, passed over their heads again, and again settled; upon which the majority, not excepting the king, were for returning immediately; but Mr. Mariner laughed at their superstition, and, to prove that the bird had no

4: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

821 Aloua. Two children of rank [alo, child of rank; ua, two]. Stars. Alternative meaning is "two paddling in a boat," alo (to paddle), ua two). Identity of stars not ascertained.

Alovalu. Eight children of rank, or eight paddling in a boat [alo, child of rank, to paddle; valu, eight]. Stars.

103 Alu. A creeping plant, used in making superior baskets. Tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H).

Aluavale. The going of a fool [alu, to go; a, of; vale, fool]. Tract near Havelu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fielakepa, landlord.

Aluialo. To go down [alu, to go; ialo, down]. Tract on Hunga island (V)—Fulivai, landlord.

Alumoeika. To go with fish [alu, to go; moe, and the; ika, fish]. Tract near Holonga, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Alumoeufi. To go with yams [alu, to go; moe, and the; ufi, yam]. Tract in Pea, village on Tongatabu island (T)

Aluotaka. To go and see [alu, to go; o, and; taka, to see]. Tract on Hunga island (V)—Fulivai, landlord.

Alupua. To go to the pua tree [alu, to go; pua, a tree (perhaps Hernandia peltata)]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Amaeki. Withered hedge wishing to be noticed [a, hedge; mae, withered; ki, wishing to be noticed]. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord. Possibly this name is a misspelling of Amaleki.

Amaile. Enclosure of myrtle shrubs [a, enclosure; maile, a shrub (vernacularly called myrtle by English-speaking residents of Tonga)]. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord. Also tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

Amaleki. Biblical name—Amalek. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.

Amanakinoa. Worthless expectation [amanaki, expectation; noa, worthless]. Tract in Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).

Amanave. To bind flambeaux [ama, flambeau (used by fishermen); nave (probably a misspelling of navei, to bind)]. Tract near Navutoka, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord.

Amatuku. A rope on port side of a vessel [ama, port side of vessel; tuku, a rope in a vessel]. Tract near Nuapapu, village on Nuapapu island (V).

Amoa. Enclosure for chickens [a, enclosure; moa, chicken]. Tract near Koulo, village on Lifuka island (H).

Amoli. Enclosure of orange trees [a, enclosure; moli, orange trees]. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Ana. Cave, den, cabin, any snug place. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Hofoa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Hunga island (V)—Fulivai, landlord. Tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V). Also tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Kei, village on Vavau island (V).

Anaafitu. Winding cave, literally, "cave of seven fences or enclosures" [ana, cave; a, fence or enclosure; fitu, seven]. Cave on weather shore of Tongatabu island (T).

Anaefu. Dusty cave [ana, cave; efu, dust]. Cave on Vavau island (V).

Anafakaata. Cave of taking aim [ana, cave; fakaata, to take aim]. Cave near Haasini, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Anafale. Cave like a house [ana, cave; fale, house]. Cave and beach on weather shore of Tongatabu island (T).

4: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1923 009 Tonga 009

103 **Feievainga.** Scattered sports [feie, to be scattered; vainga, sport, play]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Feievaka. Scattered sailing vessels [feie, to be scattered; vaka, a sailing vessel]. Tract near Teflsi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord.

Feieveinga. Place of scattered streamlets [feie, to be scattered; vai, water]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Feieveve. Scattered with rubbish [feie, to be scattered; veve, rubbish]. Tract near Utungake, village on Utungake island (V)—Tuita, landlord.

Feiivai. Rapidly running water [feii, to succeed in rapid order; vai, water]. Inlet on Nomuka island (H).

Fengaitu. Tract on Nomuka island (H).

Fepaki. To jostle, to jar, to clash. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord. Also tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord. Also tract near Muitoa, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract on Hunga island (V)—Fuiivai, landlord. Also tract near Utungake, village on Utungake island (V)—Tuita, landlord. Also tract near Taanea, village on Vavau island (V)—Vahai, landlord. Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

Fesimai. To break towards me [fesii, to break; mai, towards (used before pronouns of the first person)]. Tract on Moungaone island (H).

Fetaanu. A kind of sugar cane. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord.

Fetalaakilalo. Lower Fetalaaki [fetalaaki, to tell, to make known from one to another; lalo, below, beneath, down]. Tract near Otea, village on Kapa island (V).

Fetalaakiuta. Inland Fetalaaki [see preceding; uta, inland]. Tract near Otea, village on Kapa island (V).

Fetangihi. To cry or weep together. Tract near Fatumu, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Fetoa. Name of reputed Fijian origin. Tract near Nukunuku, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord. Also tract near Talafoou, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lauaki, landlord. Also village on Tongatabu island (T). Also island (H). Also tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Mua, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Fetoko. Abbreviation of fetokiaki, to push a canoe to and fro with long rods. Tract near Otea, village on Kapa island (V). Also tract on Ofu island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord. Also tract on Olosa island (V).

Fetokopunga. To push along a canoe over coral with a long rod [fetoko, see preceding; punga, a large piece of coral]. Tract (H).

103 **Fetuu.** A star. Tract near Toula, village on Vavau island (V).

Fetuusho. Morning Star [fetuu, star; aho, day]. Star.

821 **Feuki.** To seek. Tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord.

103 **Feuku.** To dive. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also tract near Talasiu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Lakepa, landlord. Also tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuketoka, landlord. Also tract near Mataaho, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Feumasi. To kiss each other. Tract near Nukunuku, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord.

Feutaki. To hold mutually. Tract near Koloval, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ata, landlord.

4: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

103 [821] Kalipa. First quarter of the moon. Tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).

Kalisi. To eject phlegm from the throat with force [ka, to force phlegm from the throat; lisi, to throw with force]. Tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord.

Kaloafu. To avoid danger by entering the ocean spray [kalo, to avoid danger; afu, the spray or mist of the sea when breaking upon the rocks]. One of two rocks on coast of Hihifo district, Tongatabu island (T). The other rock is Teuhie. The name Kaloafu appears to refer to the fleeing of two people, Kaloafu and Teuhie, from a pursuing eel. They fled into the sea and became rocks. [773]

Kalosaeva. When the wind does not change its position for sometime. Tract near Tokomololo, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Maafu, landlord.

Kalou. To vociferate. Tract near Veitongo, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Kalu. To cut or clean off all excrescence and dirt. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Kamata. The tasting of any food. Tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

Kamea. Although attending to [ka, although; mea, to attend to]. Tracts in and near Fuaamotu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord. Also tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

Kanaaho. Day of cleaning or rubbing canoes with the soft stone kana found on the seashore [kana, a soft stone on the seashore, used for rubbing canoes; aho, day]. Tract near Vaini, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Maafu, landlord.

Kanakana. Eating. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Vaini—Maafu, landlord, Lavengatonga, and Fuaamotu—Tungi, landlord.

Kanali. Canal. Tract near Leimatua, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Pelehake, landlord.

Kanatea. To rub until whitish [kanai, to rub; tea, whitish]. Island (T)—Velkune, landlord. Situated in lagoon of Tongatabu.

[773] Kanivatu. A mythical island in Pulotu, where dwelt an enormous bird called Kanivatu.

Kanokano. Fleshy. Tract on Haano island (H).

Kanokupolu. Flesh of Upolu [kano, flesh; kupolu, Upolu island, Samoa]. Village on Tongatabu island (T). It is now counted as the southern portion of Neiafu, which it adjoins.

Kanome. Well near Koulo, village on Lifuka island (H).

Kanume. Name of a nut tree. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.

Kanumi. Although creased [ka, although; numi, to crease]. Tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H).

Kao. K(oe)ao, the cloud. Tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord. Also island (H). A lofty island in the western volcanic chain, 3380 feet high. Also tract on Kotu island (H).

Kapa. The corners and edges of anything. Tract near Vaotuu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord. Also tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also island (V).

Kapaatamai. Child trying to crawl to meet his father [kapa, to try to crawl; a, to meet; tamai, father]. Tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H).

Kapakatai. Tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tauhetoka, landlord.

Kapala. The corners and edges of a sail [kapa, the corners and edges of anything; la, a sail]. Tract near Vaini, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Maafu, landlord. Also tract in Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near

4: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

Kauolatahi. Kauola by the sea [kauola (see above); tahi, sea]. Tract near Tui Haateiho, village on Tungua island (H). 103

Kaupua. The stem of the pua tree [kau, stem; pua, a tree with sweet-smelling flowers]. Hill near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Kaute. Hibiscus. Tract in Mataika, village on Vavau island (V).

Kauvai. A bank or shore [kau, bank; vai, water]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also district near Longoteme, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord.

Kava. The shrub (Piper methysticum). Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Haavakatolo—Ahomee, landlord, Nukualofa, and Veitongo. Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract on Ofu island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord. Also tract on Okoa island (V).

Kavaeflafi. Afternoon kava [kava, a beverage; eflafi, afternoon]; cf. "afternoon tea." Tract on Euciki island (T).

Kavaehe. By the kava [kava, a shrub; ehe, by the]. Tract near Ahau, village on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fotofili, landlord.

Kavafai. To make kava [kava, a beverage; fai, to do]. Tract near Tafeuni, village on Vavau island (V).

Kavafakaua. To drink kava twice [kava, a beverage; fakaua, to repeat]. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord. Also inlet on Tongatabu island (T). On the north coast. Also tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

Kavafakava. To play at kava-drinking [kava, a beverage; fakava, to play]. Tract near Fataulua, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Kavainu. To drink kava [kava, a beverage; inu, to drink]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Kavali. To throw kava root [kava, a shrub whose dried roots are used for a beverage; li, to throw, to toss]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Kavapapalangi. Any European spiritous drink. Tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).

Kavauhi. A native drink made of leaves of the uhi shrub. Tract on Mounganoe island (H).

Kavaui. A kind of kava. Tract in Tatakamotonga, village on Tongatabu island (T). Dwelling place of Totohoumafisi, the priest of the god Taliai Tupou.

821

Kaveinga. The constellation Libra. Stars.

Kaviki. For boasting [ka, for; viki, boasting]. Tract near Felemea, village on Uiha island (H). Also tract near Ngaunoho, village on Utungake island (V). Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord. 103

Kea. A kind of breadfruit. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Kolovai—Ata, landlord, Kalaau, Houma—Vaea, landlord, Haakame, Haalalo, Havelu—Fielakepa, landlord, Vaini—Maafu, landlord, Hoi—Pangia, landlord, and Kolonga—Nuku, landlord. Also tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tracts near villages on Vavau island (V): near Fue, Haalaufuli—Afu Haalaufuli, landlord, and Holonga.

Keaekehe. The quarrel of another [ke, quarrel; ae, of; kehe, another]. Tract near Haalalo, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Keafata. Breadfruit carrying [kea, breadfruit; fata, to carry]. Tract near Nukuhitulu, village on Tongatabu island (T).

4: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1923 0U9 Tonga 0U9

103 **Kotofalefu.** A basket filled with small pandanus fruit [koto, a basket filled with anything; fa, pandanus; lefu, smallest]. See preceding name. Tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord.

Kotomaka. Basket of stones [koto, basket; maka, stone]. Hill on Nomuka island (H).

Kotone. A tree. See Feingakotone. Green in Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Kotoni. Probably Kotone. Tract near Utulau, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Kotongasia. Mound at the place of pruning shrubs [koto, to prune shrubs; nga, place; sia, artificial mound]. Tract on Kotu island (H).

Kotongo. A bird cage made of mangrove branches. Tract near Hautu, village on Tongatabu island. Also village on Tongatabu island (T).

Kotu. Island (H).

Koulau. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.

Koulo. Village and tract on Lifuka island (H).

Kovikeu. One who is ugly and deformed. Tract near Mataaho, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Kovilaukau. Bad but proud [kovi, bad; laukau, proud]. Tract near Longoteme, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Veikune, landlord.

Kovituketuke. A woman who is bad, yet speaks amorously of gentlemen [kovi, bad; tuketuke, to speak amorously of gentlemen]. Tract near Vaini, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Maafu, landlord.

Kukuvalu. Eight kuku shellfish [kuku, a kind of shellfish; valu, eight]. Tract near Nukuleka, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also tract near Folaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H).

Kulavaitupu. Red well water [kula, red; vaitupu, well water]. Tract near Lakepa, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lasike, landlord.

Kulipulu. Bulldog [kuli, dog; pulu, bull]. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Kulitokai. Name of the posts of the chief's cabin in a Tongan double boat, kalia. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Kulo. A pot. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Tatakamotonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord. Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V). Also tract near Makave, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Afitu, landlord. Also island (V). Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

Kulufotu. Appearing with kulu trees [kulu, a tree; fotu, to appear]. Pigeon mound on Uoleva island (H).

Kulukava. Stems of fruit of kulu tree [kulu, a tree; kava stem or stalk of fruit]. Place on Eua island (T). Also cemetery on Lifuka island (H). Between Pangai and Holopeka.

Kulukulu. A fruit dove (Ptilinopus porphyraceus) Tract near Haatoa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Kumakula. Red rat [kuma, rat; kula, red]. Tract near Kolova, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Kupolu. Tongan rendering of Samoan Upolu. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Kupulau. A loquacious speech [kupu, speech; lau, loquacious]. Tract near Fuaamotu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord.

[821] **Laa.** The sun. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.

Laafi. Steamer. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.

4: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

103 821 **Mahina.** Moon. Tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Mahinaea. Moon appearing plainly [mahina, moon; ea, to appear plainly]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Mahinaeflafi. When the moon rises in the afternoon [mahina, moon; eflafi, afternoon]. Tract near Folaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Mahinafekite. A clear moonlight night [mahina, moon; fekite, to have the view clearly definite]. Tract and district on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Tangipa, landlord.

Mahinafoou. The new moon [mahina, moon; foou, new]. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord. Also tract near Koloa, village on Koloa island (V).

103 **Mahinaheu.** Month of catching birds on the wing [mahina, month; heu, to catch birds on the wing]. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.

Mahinamahu. A fruitful month [mahina, month; mahu, fertile, fruitful]. Tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord. Also tract near Fataulua, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Mahinatauhi. A protected month [mahina, month; tauhi, to protect]. Tract near Mataika, village on Vavau island (V).

Mahu. Fertile, fruitful. Tract near Ngaunoho, village on Utungake island (V).

Mahualoka. The waves rolling in with thunder [mahu, a thundering noise; a, of; loka, a furious sea]. Tract near Vaini, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Maafu, landlord.

Mahualoto. Abundance of the center [mahu, abundance; a, of; loto, center]. Tract on Okoa island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord.

Mahufua. Bearing abundantly [mahu, abundance; fua, to bear]. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H).

Mahulahi. Great abundance [mahu, abundance; lahi, great]. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.

Mahuleva. Immediate abundance [mahu, abundance; leva, immediate, forthwith]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord. Also tract near Petani, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Mahuloto. Deep abundance [mahu, abundance; loto, deep]. Tract near Taoa, village on Vavau island (V).

Mahuma. Abundance of bread [mahu, abundance; ma, bread]. Tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Mahumei. Abundance of breadfruit [mahu, abundance; mei, bread]. Waves on Tongatabu island (T). On the weather shore. Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Mataika, village on Vavau island (V).

Mahumeifutu. Abundance from the futu trees [mahu, abundance; mei, from; futu, tree (Barringtonia speciosa)]. Tract near Haavakatolo, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ahomee, landlord.

Mahumeitahi. Abundance from the sea [mahu, abundance; mei, from; tahi, sea]. Tract near Kolovai, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ata, landlord.

Mahupeavale. Abundance and folly [mahu, abundance; pea, and; vale, folly]. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

Mahuufi. Abundance of yams [mahu, abundance; ufi, yam]. Tract near Haateiho, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Haateiho, landlord. Also tract near Faleloa, village on Foa island (H).

4: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

103 **Tekita.** To strut and strike [teki, to strut; ta, to strike]. Tract near Napua, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Telaivana. [Tela, the flat of the shark's head; i, in; vana, the sea urchin]. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

Telau. Hundred; an old form of teau. Tract on Ofolanga island (H).

Tele. Smoothed off. Tract on Moungaone island (H).

Teleauta. A valley. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua island (T).

Telelioa. Not known. Tract near Tatakamotonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord. Also tract near Fatumu, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Teleka. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

Teleki. On the way to [tele, on the way; ki, to]. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also well near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Named after land in Vavau belonging to Malupo. Dug for King George I. The name is said to be based on the stem tele, meaning: "Are you going shooting?" asked of a man who might be passing with bow and arrows. If a chief passes with his warriors and you ask where he is going he will reply: "Teleki" and then point with his hand in the direction he is going, not wanting to divulge his real destination. The well is named after this use of the word. Also promontory on Vavau island (V).

Telekitonga. On the way to Tongatabu [teleki, on the way to; tonga, Tongatabu island]. One of the Otutolu islands (H).

Telekivavau. On the way to Vavau [teleki, on the way to; vavau, Vavau island]. One of the Otutolu islands (H).

Telio. "Almond" tree. Tract near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Puke—Fohe, landlord, Lapaha—Pangia, landlord, and Hoi. Also tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).

Telikitahi. To follow to the sea [teli, to follow; ki, to; tahi, sea]. Tract on Fonoifua island (H)—Tui Afitu, landlord.

Tello. Buried. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Kolovai—Ata, landlord, Fatai, and Kolonga—Nuku, landlord. Also tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H).

Telolalo. Lower Telio [lalo, lower]. Tract near Fatai, village on Tongatabu (T).

Telitetiuli. One who is ever following another. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H).

Tengetange. Affliction (applied to chiefs), tengitanga. Tract near Kanokupolu, village near Tongatabu island (T).

Tengilaho. Probably tengailaho; testicles: [teng (a)i, seed; laho, scotum]. Hill on Nomuka island (H).

[821] **Teongo.** Star. Tract near Mataaho, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Teps. To look askant. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Teufolau. Preparation for a voyage [teu, preparation; folau, voyage]. Tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord.

[773] **Teuhie.** One of two rocks on coast of Hihifo district, on Tongatabu island (T). The other rock is Kaloafu. Mythology makes them transformed human beings.

Teumoa. To prepare chicken [teu, to prepare; moa, chicken]. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fusitua, landlord.

Teungofua. Free qualification [teu, qualification; ngofua, free]. Tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H).

Teuteuakovi. Preparation of vice [teuteu, preparation; a, of; kovi, vice]. Tract near Kolonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Nuku, landlord.

Teuteukai. To prepare food [teuteu, to prepare; kai, food]. Tract on Fotuhaa island (H). Also tract near Holopeka, village on Lifuka island (H).

Teutufau. Tract near Havelu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fielakepa, landlord. Also tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

ORIGIN OF HEAVENLY BODIES

539
821
773

The only stories that were obtained about stars were those relating to the origin of the Magellan clouds and the evening star. It is interesting to note that these tales are in no way connected with the cosmogony, but are on the contrary rather puerile tales that attribute the origin of these stars to the transformation of mischievous boys.

In the story entitled "The Origin of the Reef Matahina," page 100, reference is made of the origin of the constellation Orion.

539

THE ORIGIN OF THE MAGELLAN CLOUDS[88]

Once upon a time there was living at Vaini, in Tongatabu, a great chief called Maafu, whose descendants are living to this day. It was Maafu's habit to bathe every evening in a water hole known as Tufatakale, so called because close by there lived at one time a man and a woman whose names were Tufa and Kale. Maafu, being a cleanly person, used to take a piece of coconut husk with him as a sort of scrubbing brush. After he had finished with it, he always threw it on a flat stone at the side of the water hole.

Living in the immediate vicinity was a huge female lizard, who, after Maafu's evening bath, always came and swallowed the piece of coconut husk. Time went on and a most astonishing thing occurred. The lizard gave birth to twins—not lizards—but to all appearance, shape, and size, human beings. She called them Maafu Toka and Maafu Lele.

Years rolled by and the two boys had almost reached manhood, when one day they went to their mother and said: "We are tired of living here by ourselves. Tell us who our father is and we will go to him and live with him." The old lizard realized that it was of no use trying to keep hidden any longer two such fine, healthy, and happy youths. So with a sad heart she rubbed them all over with scented oil, dressed their hair and hung sweet smelling garlands of flowers and leaves round their necks. Her directions were that they were to take a certain road and at the end of it, where it opened out into the town, they would see a large house, outside of which a number of people would be sitting drinking kava. They were not to go up at once, but were to watch and see to whom the greatest respect was being paid. Then, after the kava drinking was over, they were to approach the person to whom the greatest respect had been shown. That person would be Maafu, their father.

The boys bade their mother farewell. By carrying out her instructions they soon found the house and saw the kava drinking ceremony. It did not take them long to recognize their father, but they waited at a little

[88] Recorded by W. H. Murley, of Pangai, Lifuka island, Haapai.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 chief, for which he expressed his thanks. He also thanked them for obeying his wish. He told them that the reason he had sent them on these perilous undertakings was that he desired to make an end of them because his people (*kainga*) were very tired of the wickedness of the boys and also were afraid of them. He thought, therefore, that they should go away and leave him to live with his people.

The youths said that they agreed, for they had only come to him because they wished to be useful to him. As they had done wrong they would go, but they would not go to any other part of the earth. They would go to the sky and stand there so that he might see them; indeed, so that Maafu Tukuiaulahi could always see them together with the duck and the *humu* fish. Maafu Tukuiaulahi and the youths bade each other farewell and the youths departed with their duck and their *humu* fish.

[821] The two dark openings seen in the Milky Way are called Maafu Lele and Maafu Toka. There are also two clusters of stars called Toloa (duck) and Humu (fish). This is the origin of Maafu Lele and Maafu Toka (the Magellan clouds).

THE ORIGIN OF THE MAGELLAN CLOUDS[*]

(A Variant)

It is said that Maafu's son was to marry Ngongo's daughter. Before the marriage took place the woman died and became an *ulie* (a large species of lizard, greater in size than the *fokai*). The *ulie* attempted to seize the man she was to have married. She went and lived at a well or spring in Vaini, Tongatabu. When the youth went to bathe at this well the lizard would watch him from a large cave. After bathing the youth dried himself with a piece of coconut husk. The lizard watched and saw him throw the coconut husk on the ground. Then she came and sucked the husk.

From continually doing this the lizard became pregnant and gave birth to two boys. The eldest when born could already run about; so he was called Maafu Lele (run). The second when born lay without moving; so he was called Maafu Toka. These were two very beautiful children, but very naughty and wicked. They used always to be after the men's wives.

Finally, Maafu, out of love for his people, planned to get rid of the two youths. He pretended to be sick and the boys asked him what he would like to eat. Maafu told them that he would like to eat duck, for he knew there was a fierce duck on the weather shore near Vaini and he hoped that it would destroy the two youths. The boys asked Maafu to inform them

[*] Told by James Lilo, of Lotofoa, Foa island, Haapai.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

STORIES OF HINA AND SINILAU

Hina and Sinilau, two widely known Polynesian deities, enter extensively into Tongan tales. Sinilau is invariably represented as a handsome man or a noted chief.

Hina appears in a variety of roles, but always as a beautiful girl. She is considered as the moon-goddess in Tonga and takes the place of our "man in the moon." The Tongans see in the moon a great *ovatu* tree beneath which sits Hina beating tapa. As a beautiful Samoan girl Hina was instrumental in sending the bonito to Tonga. In one Maui tale Hina is called the sister of Maui Kisikisi. In another tale, a goddess named Hinahengi comes from Pulotu to this world where she is captured by a Samoan and becomes his wife. (See p. 19 and p. 49.)

HINA AND THE ORIGIN OF THE COCONUT [117]

Kaloafu mo Teuhie,
Laufoki koena tama pele,
Pea ta koe faahikehe.
Hoko vale ihona manavahe.
Tupaheo!

Kaloafu and Teuhie,
It is said, had a pet child,
But it was a god.
Fled they madly because of their fear.
Beat quickly!

Ona hopo he moana vavale.
Koe tuna ne hola ki Haamoa
O nofo he Vaiola o Hina;
Nofonofo Hina pea feitama.
"Hina e! ke tala hao tangata
Kohai?" "Ko Tuna Olemalama."
Hiki mai a Haamoa o tata,
Pea nau ohuohu pea maka;
Pea hiki hake a tuna o tafa,
Tafa pe mo kai a loimata.
"Hiki mai e ulu maaku naa,
Pea tanutanu he tanuanga."
Po nima pea malangalanga:
Mua hifo e toume moe kaka;
Koe mea hulu ena keina;
Pea moe niu pulu maamaa
Koe mea fai lolo ena tama;
Ta hono sino koe fale fakahoata.

They fled into the foaming sea.
The eel went to Samoa
And lived in Hina's water of life;
Bye-and-bye Hina became pregnant.
"O Hina! tell who is your man?"
"It is Eel the Shining One."
Came all Samoa and cleaned,
And bailed the pool till it was empty;
Lifted out the eel and cut to pieces,
Cut up and ate while (Hina) wept.
"Bring here the head for me,
Then bury it in the burying place."
Nights five passed and then it appeared:
First came leaf pod and fiber;
It was wonderful the way it grew;
And the coconuts with light husks
Were heavy with oil for their child.
Cut down its body for a sun shelter.

The following prose account will make clearer the events mentioned in the preceding verse:

The eel originated through two people, Tufu, the name of a fish, and Kale, meaning to run past. Their offspring was a large eel. Then came Kaloafu, a chiefess, and Teuhie, a chief, to adopt the child. They were informed that it was a god, but they insisted on seeing it. They

[117] Translated by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker from the Tongan of a tale recorded by the Rev. Dr. J. E. Moulton.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

6. The border or edge of anything is *kafa*, and I presume that *tau kafakafa* is the reduplicated form of that word, indicating the edge of the house. [539]

7. The inference is that Tongamauluau is exerting malign influence over Kulakehahau, and it is probably implied that she is not truly human. The narrator just here refers to Anumatenifa as *tevolo*, but whether it is meant that she herself is not really human, or merely that she is behaving with inhuman malignity is not clear. [192]

8. I do not know the meaning of the expression, *he funga tu*, but conjecture that although Kulakehahau and Anumatenifa dwelt in the one house it was in a condition of separateness from each other.

9. By the expression "kin of my father," Kulakehahau indicates that Anumatenifa could not be his wife. [602]

10. The variant which follows mentions that Tongamauluau went with only bark cloth wrapped round her.

11. An additional wife, or wives, brought to a man by his wife are termed *fokonofo*. A woman apparently frequently brought her own younger sisters, or other relatives, as *fokonofo*. Perhaps Tongamauluau means that when Kulakehahau deserted her to live with another woman it was because of a new love, not a new wife that she herself had provided, but just an unreasonable whim. [595]

12. The pining of children for absent friends and relatives is called *manatu* (remember). This is regarded very seriously by the Tongans. [858] [828]

Pages 41-43. Tongamauluau and Kulakehahau, a variant

1. Aofitoki and Aouli are said to be the names of two kinds of cloud. [821]

2. The meaning of *aitue*, a rare word in present-day Tongan, is difficult to discover, but apparently it is the shout of jubilation as a chief leads away his bride. [192]

3. Cloth with unprinted edges cut off is called *lotoingatu*; it is suitable for a chief's dress. [291]

4. The term *kulukulu-tuu* indicates "not put on in the usual way of the kilt (vala), but worn so as to cover the bosom." [291]

Pages 43-44. Tuiolemana and the crab

1. There is a mixture in these names of Tongan and Samoan forms. In Nukuseilala, *nuku* is a Tongan form, and *seilala* Samoan; *tui-o-le-mana* may be wholly Samoan. [197]

2. The word *misimisi* is commonly used to mean suck, but Labillardière reports it as used in a context where it apparently means sexual intercourse. [192]

Pages 44-46. Kalikihevae and the son of the Tui Tonga

1. It is possible to read the Tongan as though the disease had just developed as they reached Hihifo.

2. Tongan women frequently chew food to soften it for their children. [857]

3. The candlenut is a very popular detergent.

4. The inference is Nua had already borne a child, but so beautiful was she that this did not diminish her desirability. [515]

Pages 46-49. Vaenuku and Lepuha

1. The word *mua* is translated (29) as *distributeur, qui parle pour le chef; Ko 'ene mu'a, c'est son*, second. I have found nowhere else any reference to the custom. The second day of the three days assigned to marriage festivities is marked as the bride's bathing day. This bathing must be a special one, as no Tongan, unless in exceptional circumstances, omits the daily bath. Presumably the maiden's leaving her compound to go to the bathing pool was held to present an opportunity for an interview or, perhaps, for beholding the lady's charms. [539] [585] [515]

2. Presumably the meaning is that the maiden and Vaenuku had met and she had accepted him as lover; that is, the bride is announcing to those concerned the successful suitor. [539]

Pages 49-50. Fragments of a poem of Lepuha and Vaenuku

1. This name is also written Vainuku.

2. I am uncertain whether in the Tongan of this line the word is *si*, the plant

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 but containing a pun, the name meaning Man-who-believes-stories), or if anyone nearer home likes it let him have it."

Page 73. Falepapalangi

[127] 1. There are many obscurities in the details of this poem, some of which might have been cleared up had a second text been available.

[538] 2. It is not clear what is meant by exchanging poems. There might possibly have been an arrangement for performing each other's pieces which was not carried out. It may be a sarcastic reference to a claim of Mamaeaepoto that they were equal in poetic skill.

3. Mamaeaepoto is in the entourage of strong chiefs.

[538] 4. The two poets sought conquests amongst the women in separate districts, and the inference seems to be that, in their art too, they had better confine themselves to separate spheres or districts. The Feleave in the text seems to be an islet in the west of Tongatabu. The *siale* and the *kangale* are taken as typical plants of the two districts.

5. The meaning seems to be that "right from the commencement of our rivalry I showed myself a man of real achievement, while you have uttered nothing but foolishness; and whereas those foolish efforts of yours have proved futile, my poems have never lost their power to please."

6. Possibly there is a secondary meaning—make love.

7. To end. Besides the obvious meaning of engaging in the sport of snaring pigeons there is the meaning of winning the favors of women, who are frequently referred to as *lupe* (pigeon). He sarcastically tells his rival that he will get sweethearts for him and his party, as they have not much freedom to do anything for themselves.

Pages 73-79. Song of Tukulua

539 76 1. Nothing seems to be known of Tukulua beyond this poem, which was composed during the poet's illness.

2. *Huni* and *siale* are names of fragrant plants.

[538] [763] [824] 3. A slight emendation of *kotau* to *koto* would give "my" instead of "our." If the text is correct, it means the boat that ultimately bears us all away. This line and the one following may be a general reference to his own past life, his days of health and happiness, or there may be something of a belief that the fortunes of his ghost ship, even in the days before his illness, were parallel to his own. But probably this should not be pressed. Through it all is perhaps recollection of the days of his strength, when even though the storm raged and his mainsheet was snapped, yet he could bring his boat safely through to land and embark his "dear desire," his sweetheart; or that he could win through all hazards because he had her with him on board.

[823] 4. Onevao is an islet off Tongatabu; Niutao is not identified. Evidently both places are associated with pleasant experiences.

[763] 5. Thunder and lightning are frequently mentioned as presaging death or disaster.

[821] 6. *Pulotu 'aka'aka* should possibly be translated "widely ramified Pulotu." The word *'aka'aka* is regarded merely as an epithet of Pulotu, but the Rev. James Watkin says: "Bulotu *tete*, Bulotu *akaaka* and Bulotu *tuumau* are the names of the Tongan three heavens." Watkin was in a better position to gain information than any inquirer can be today.

[772] 7. Land of light (*mama*) is applied to the world of mortals, and to mortals themselves.

[192] 8. The heilala (*Gardenia sp.*) is one of the plants used in the sweet-smelling wreaths and garlands. Leaf girdles are frequently hung at the head of graves, and are then called *tapu kakala*.

[824] 9. Pebbles, with which graves are adorned. Fatailangalanga is the name of an unidentified place.

[769] [764] [192] 10. The reference means "Do not only give my body honorable burial, but also speak kindly of me." "Character" is *anga*. It is possible, however, that *anga* is an old word no longer known among Tongans, meaning "spirit." Compare Samoan *angaga*, thought, a disembodied spirit (32); Niue, *anganga*, the soul, spirit (35); Hawaiian, *anaana*, a prayer used to procure the death or curse upon one; witchcraft, divination, sorcery, and kindred meanings (1); and the well-known Tongan word, *angaanga*, corpse.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

6. The references are to various mats of Tonga and to collecting them, figuratively, as a gift in honor of the dead man. The italicized words are names of mats. Tungua, Matuku, Uiha, Lifuka, are all in Haapai.

7. The reference is to the Tamaha (the daughter or son) of the Tui Tonga Fefine. The Tamaha lived in Tungua. Here she is called Falotuma, a species of hala. "Even if a mat obtained from Tungua should prove to be of not much account as a mat yet it derives value from its origin in the island of Tamaha" (12, pp. 178-189).

7a. "Mat of red feathers" means "mat adorned with red feathers." The form *hulu kula* is interesting, as the normal Tongan would be *fulu kula*. This form hints at the likelihood of the introduction of the adornment of mats with red feathers from some one or other of the groups of islands farther east.

8. Plover (*kiu*) and double-bird (*manulua*) are two of the designs used on the native cloth.

9. Toku is a name occurring in several parts of Tonga (21), but evidently here it is one or other of the places so named in Vavau.

10. Late is a high volcanic island southwest from the main part of the Vavau group. "Clothing for Mua" (the capitol) would be a mat of good kind that was customarily used as a dress for Mua.

11. The poet having finished what he has to say about the mats and cloth of Tonga will now sail to Samoa to collect further wealth. Ulamoleka is still remembered as a very expert navigator, and these lines give him the opportunity to use his knowledge of the stars. The names used, such as Amonga and Tupa (16, pp. 4-9) are star names. The opportunity of direct identification of the stars by their Tongan names seems to have passed irrevocably. Amonga, which is not included in my earlier list, is given by Pratt, for Samoa, as "The name of the stars which form the belt of Orion.' Alotulu seems to be another name for the same stars. A very important part of the equipment of the skillful navigator was the knowledge when to leave one star as a guiding mark and pass on to the next (compare "Then pass on and leave," line 43). These lines may recall a voyage which Ulamoleka and Falepapalangi had actually made in company to Samoa.

12. These lines seem to mean that Ulamoleka was able to keep his boat ahead of Falepapalangi's, probably recalling a voyage they had made.

13. Manuka, or Manua, the eastern part of Samoa.

14. Nafanua was a goddess of Savaii, one of the eastern islands of Samoa. She was the daughter of Saveasiuleo, god of Pulotu (36, p. 38; 26, vol. 1, p. 23). In Tongan myth Nafanua is the twin sister of Topukulu, and the daughter of Tokilangafonua and his sister Hina. Tokilangafonua went to Samoa and thither the twin sisters, who were then joined back to back, swam to find him. Their father on seeing them and not knowing who they were, made as though he would strike them; in their alarm the girls jumped apart and were separated. The girls did not know their father, and in their ignorance both became pregnant to him. Topukulu became the mother of the sea god Hemoanauliuli, and Nafanua, of the goddess Tafakula, of Eua. The lines in the poem would seem to mean that Falepapalangi was to remain in Savaii while Ulamoleka passed on eastwards to Manua, although the preceding lines would imply that they both went to Manua. Nafanua is one of the notable personalities on the way, and they turn aside to honor her, either by an actual going ashore and presenting kava at her temple, or, more probably, by the poet honoring her by remembrance in his verses.

15. Sau and Leiataua are said to be two chiefs in Samoa to whom Tongans used to go for mats.

16. The translation of this line uncertain.

17. The names mentioned are places in Fiji, which are now called upon to furnish their quota of fit presents.

18. The text at this place is bad and both text and translations are conjectural.

19. I can not find any appropriate meaning for the Tongan word *kousa*, and conjecture that it is the Fijian *ngqousa* (st·ike), though it is doubtful if even this would give an appropriate meaning.

20. The "hidden wealth" is presumably the gift of the bard. Why this should weary him is difficult to see, unless the meaning is that while he had been thinking of mats and cloth for a present the hidden wealth of his muse has been longing to break forth.

21. With the picture of the pigeon not yet properly trained and breaking its

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

of omen is evidently the fact that Falepapalangi is so ill that he can no longer do as he likes, but has to be very careful.

11. It is not likely now that the events referred to in these lines can be ascertained. Matamoana is a place name, one locality so named being a mound (*sia*) in Hihifo. Papavao may be a name, or may indicate some beaten level place in a wood. Tuihalafatai was the name of a Tui Kanokupolu who died in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Halafatai is the name of the weather coast (*liku*) at Kolovai in Hihifo, Tongatabu. The flats (*toafa*) are the shallows along the northern coast of Hihifo.

12. His title to fame was not as a cultivator of the soil, nor as a planter of kava (the plant valued amongst chiefs, and whose successful cultivation set the seal on a man's skill as a gardener), but that he was known as a man who wandered from place to place, a man of the road, amusing the chiefs with his songs. Maafu and Ahomee and Ata are chiefs; Uhi and Mafi Motuapuaka are *matapule*.

13. The picture is of a man entering a house where Falepapalangi and others are sitting, chiefs being present, the man bowing as he comes in and takes his place. He wishes to give Falepapalangi his leaf-girdles, a sign of his appreciation of the bard, and throws it to him across the front of those sitting between him and Falepapalangi, but his aim falls short.

14. Mapaehingano is the nickname of a chief. The *mapa* and the *hingano* are valued plants.

15. Tonga is standing, secure, but the loss, the grievousness, is his own fate.

16. The "mutual liking" is either of Falepapalangi and his choir, or of the chiefs and Falepapalangi and his choir.

17. Reference is to the songs of Falepapalangi and his singers on a voyage to Vavau, Haafuluhao. When they reach Vavau the wind goes round to the south (*tonga*) that is, word comes from Tonga that he is to return to attend the Tui Tonga and his principal wife. The Tui Tonga used to be carried about in a litter.

18. The wealth is probably the right given him by a great chief, Fuhifalahola, to sing before him. Fuhifalahola (cluster of hala) is a nickname for a chief, quite possibly the Tui Kanokupolu, or perhaps the Tui Tonga. But since Uhi and Lauaki and Kioa are *matapule* of the Tui Kanokupolu, he is in all likelihood the chief indicated.

Pages 84-86. The voyage of Ulamoleka to Niua Toputapu

1. The expression *tovatova-'i-Manuka* in the original, means "whisper in Manuka." The exact translation of *tovatova* is uncertain, though it is said to mean the name of a woman, wife of Tongafusifonua, who lived in Manua in Samoa. When the Maui arrived in Manua in search of the hook with which to haul up lands, the woman who loved Maui Kisikisi imparted to him the secret of which hook to select. When the Maui made the right choice, Tongafusifonua exclaimed "Who has *'tovatova-'i-Manuka?*" meaning "Who has betrayed the secret?" The expression is proverbial for telling that which should not be told (15, No. 3, p. 278; 17, No. 367; 28, vol. 1, p. 228, where the land-fishing is ascribed, not to Maui, but to Tangaloa).

2. The mat, that is, the virgin or bridal mat presented by the virgin bride to her husband. Ulamoleka says that for the first time, he learns, forsooth, that the mat is a very high chiefly one, that is, that the girl is a very high chieftainess, too high for him to espouse.

3. Ulamoleka, appropriately to a navigator, clears away the tapu on account of his words in the preceding lines, which may sound presumptously to the unseen powers, by propitiating the stars. Aloua is a star name.

4. Ulamoleka commences something about himself, the great navigator, clever at finding lands; but breaks off to tell the girl she can do as she pleases to Tonga, represented of course by himself.

5. Niutoua is a little stream in Niua Toputapu.

6. A navigation metaphor is here used "The poet will seek another charmer."

7. Here there is more than one strand of meaning. When the rejected suitor goes on his new love errand the girl will not know to whom he has gone. Possibly there is the idea that she does not know how high his lineage is; he refers to his lofty descent later. Again the Niua Toputapu girl does not know how great are the ladies who have not despised his love. And he goes on immediately to refer to another aspect of the aspersions against his birth. He is thought a man of no great birth because he works so hard, but the great Lonu did not disdain to work.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

place at sea, a reef, where the *tala* are plentiful. Probably it is the proper name of a reef or stretch of sea. Halakakala is a fishing ground, a reef, of the Tui Tonga, near Eueiki. Haa Maafu is the Tui Tonga; Haa Ngata, the great house of which the Tui Kanokupolu is head. These may not be literally the names of sea localities, but introduced figuratively, because of the connection he claimed with both these houses. Tupou, the title of the Tui Kanokupolu, is also the name of several localities (21). The one whose fame is spoken of is Ulamoleka himself, named in the next line the king of the men of the ocean.

31. Here is portrayed the grief and indignation in various localities in Tonga when they hear of the affront that Ulamoleka has suffered.

32. Matamoana and Halaevalu are names of two pigeon-snaring mounds in Tongatabu.

33. Anganangana (Whispering hedge) is said to be a locality in Hihifo, Tongatabu. Probably it is a sanctuary, and the meaning is that the power of the temple has not been sufficiently potent for success in the undertaking.

34. Nakau and Fungaana are place names distributed in various parts of the group. Gifford notes a Fungaana in Niua Toputapu. Doubtless there is a Nakau in Niua Toputapu also.

35. Luatangata is a star name, and probably so is Alovalu. Vaea is a chief. Luatangata and Alovalu may be the nicknames of chiefs.

36. Pouvalu is noted by Gifford as the name of a house of the Tui Tonga.

37. A reminiscence of some voyage may be indicated or merely the wide extent of his travels. Probably also a hint is made of his high connections, which extend to Samoa. Tutuila is in eastern Samoa, and the Tui Kanokupolu is connected with the lords of Manua in eastern Samoa. Up until quite recently it was customary for the Tui Kanokupolu to acknowledge the connection by visits to the Tui Manua.

38. A sign of good seamanship is to come to the anchorage with the sail, instead of working in with oars. Kolongahau is a famous harbor of the Tui Tonga in Mua.

39. Lala is the name of a tree. This launching place is not now known. Evidently it was marked by a lala tree, or by a clump of these trees.

40. "I shall no longer base my claim to better treatment on my connection with chiefs; I shall leave that boat of high connection and strike out relying only on my own merits."

41. "Even though the way is not so good, yet I shall strike out on it."

42. Longoakau and Alakihaafata are the names of localities in which is spread the report of the prowess of Ulamoleka.

43. In the bonito fishing if a boat were full of fish, and yet caught more, the tails of the fish which could not be taken to shore were broken off, the mutilated fish were thrown back into the sea and the tails taken as trophies.

44. Haa Loau occurs as a place name in several parts of Tonga. Probably the locality indicated is in Lifuka, Haapai, where is Tongoleleka, mentioned in the next line. A scion of the Tui Tonga house still lives at Tongoleleka.

45. Probably a double strand of meaning is intended: that Ulamoleka's love will be consoled by some other woman, although it has gone through such unquiet waters, and also that his long poem is almost ended, although the bark of poesy has sailed seas of unfriendliness and misrepresentation.

46. The simile of pigeon-snaring is again employed. If there be an uneven number of birds there is great difficulty in netting them, since the odd bird flies hither and thither, seeking a mate and so disturbing all the flock. Hence, the girl Ulamoleka went to marry is a restless pigeon flying about in all directions so that he can not capture her.

47. This line is omitted in the copy printed in Koe Makasini.

48. House of the snarers (*fale faao*) is not the house on the mound where the snaring is actually done, but the house near the mound in which the cooking for the sportsmen was done.

49. "I shall make no further effort to catch this strong, far-ranging pigeon, who does not wish to be caught by me, and perhaps after all I am just as well out of it. One never knows what he has got in pigeon-hunting—and in marriage." The expression *tufa mai tao*, distributed from the bush, means "the catch is not taken home to the village and there gone through and allotted, but the distribution is done on the mound itself, and one does not see very well what he has got, but just takes his luck."

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

4. Inumomea, unidentified, is probably a friend, man or woman, or even a place.
5. This line means "Mulikihaamea is still pre-eminently handsome, and I have obtained the girl's favors simply through his kindness." It is not clear why he should be said to be forgetful of Vaea, unless it be that Vaea and not Tangatailoa, might have expected to receive this mark of favor.
6. The King, Hau, is probably Mulikihaamea himself.
7. The poet says if they want to find him they must "set the course" by the village of Lakepa and then, having used this metaphor of navigation, he mentions various stars, passes to names of plants and flowers, and returning to a star, asks that all be brought to deck his sweetheart.
8. Maukuomaa, Tapukitea, Alotolu, Kaukupenga, Acouvea are names of stars and constellations.
9. The *hinganoleha, unuoiviale* and *tetefa* are plants. I have not been able to find meaning of *tapua-tamato*, but comparison with Fijian suggests the possibility of its being the name of an ivory ornament.

Pages 89-94. Poem of Teukava

1. It is doubtful whether the detailed account of the fighting necessary to explain all the allusions is any longer recoverable. Many passages remain obscure.
2. Tangaloa, god of the sky; Maui, god of the underworld. This is a general call to Heaven and the Underworld, or Earth itself, to harken.
3. Foui, named from a foui tree which stood there, was the abode of Vahai, who played so prominent a part in the fighting and led the forces which avenged the defeat of Hihifo. Nukumaanu and Vakatofusi are the names of two beaches near Foui.
4. Kaumatule and Pauli; two famous warriors of the family of Vahai.
5. This passage is obscure. It may mean that the kings chiefs, *hau tui* (tribe of kings, or royal tribe), are the Tui Tonga and his chiefs, and that they were annoyed that the blind king, *tui pouli*, should join in the war (on the side of Vahai). The *tui pouli* is explained by one informant as "those who came over the sea," that is, Haapai and Vavau. Another informant suggests that the reference is to the blind chief of Hoi, in eastern Tongatabu, who might naturally be supposed to be inclined to join with the warriors of Hahake against Hihifo. There is no confirmation of this supposition. Vahai, the son of Nuku, himself originally belonged to Hahake, and moved to Hihifo on marriage with the daughter of the Tui Kanokupolu. I think it not improbable that the reference is to Takai, chief of Pea, who, Mariner tells us, was blind in one eye and whom Commander Wilkes refers to as blind, writing of course at a considerably later period. Takai might have been expected to throw in his lot whole-heartedly with the Hihifo chiefs, and he did become a partisan of Vahai; but Mariner's narrative, dealing with events rather later than those referred to in this poem, shows an inclination on Takai's part to coquette with the idea of alliance with Finau. If Takai be the *tui pouli* then the *hau tui* would be the Hihifo chiefs who are fighting to vindicate the position of the Tui Konakupolu.
6. "Hand that was shaken" is explained as "to have no further dealings with," and as "having conquered," and is referred to Vahai's conquest of Tongatabu.
7. Inasiulu, is an unidentified chief. It is explained in the poem that this is not his real Tongan name, but a name given him abroad, perhaps in Fiji. Possibly Tupou Malohi is meant.
8. The phrase *mohe toto* (to sleep in blood, to sleep with an unfinished task still to be carried through) originates with warriors who fight on till night lying down to rest without washing the blood from themselves as the battle must be resumed with the return of day. This seems to refer to the Battle of Toafa, in which the great Hihifo chiefs were wounded, hence "overthrown."
9. Several occurrences of the place name Tupou are noted by Gifford. I know nothing about Telasili. Naeata and Vakaisanini are said to be two warriors.
10. In the "lower chiefly road" the reference seems to be clearly to the Tui Kanokupolu chiefs, who were the people of the lower side of the road. Probably the meaning is that the Tui Tonga will appear and will interfere in the disturbances of the Tui Kanokupolu.
11. The hope that the Tui Tonga and his chiefs would make peace proves to be vain. The Tui Tonga played a very inconspicuous part throughout the disturbances, revealing the real weakness into which he had fallen, and from the natural consequences of which his sacred prestige was not to save him much longer.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

22. The plant *unuoi* is a favorite food of pigeons. Tuakilaumea presents himself as a pigeon eating *unuoi* unapprehensive of pending trouble when the news of his disgrace reached him; probably also an allusion is made to himself drinking the kava which was the cause of all the trouble.

23. The plant *pipitongi*, here used as a nickname of Tuakilaumea himself.

24. Moli hath done wrong, leave it to Loli, is a proverbial expression for laying the blame of one man's wrongs upon another.

25. This is a proverbial expression complaining that the unworthy reap the benefit of the labors and endurance of the strong and brave (17, no 92).

26. Afaipaongo (little fruit of hala) is a sarcastic name for the King. The *paongo* is a valued species of *Pandanus*, and the name is constructed on the model of the nicknames of great chiefs, which frequently are of some valued and pleasant plant. The *afa* of the hala, however is the last fruit, which is smaller than the earlier fruit; and the name, therefore, is a taunt, "poor little fruit coming after the great fruit which have preceded you."

27. Lolo was one of the handsome men whose profession was love. Tuakilaumea used the word *motua*, a common but not very respectful term for man.

28. Lotunofo; the compound of the Tui Tonga in Mua.

29. This is perhaps the request of Mumui to Tuakilaumea to live with him; but afterwards Mumui is relying on the chief Vahai of Lolopaongo a village of Foui, in western Tongatabu. But Vahai has deserted the interests of Hihifo and gone off to Hahake, where he originally belonged.

30. This is a sarcastic reference to Mumui. The direction is to "pluck the stars from heaven for this king of ours, and let all the forces of Nature be according to his pleasure." Alotolu is the belt in Orion; Toloa, the Southern Cross; Humu, dark sky near the Southern Cross (16, pp. 4-6).

31. Tufuhu is a place name in Tonga, Haapai and Vavau. Winds are named therefrom, as *funga Tufuhu* (from the surface of Tufuhu).

32. Kalau is an islet off the southern end of Eua. "Below Kalau" is used of the wind blowing from a point seaward from Kalau.

33. The reference is to some town where lightning was held to be an omen of war. "The town" is said to be Mumui's own town.

34. Teuhie and Kaloafu are two rocks off the coast of Hihifo. The murmur of the sea is said to be heard on these rocks in calm weather, hence the expression is used here of calm seas. In these lines, in addition to the sarcastic request that Nature be as Mumui would choose, is the poet's own brooding fondness for the natural features of his native land, which is so constant a feature of Tongan poetry.

35. The Kailakulaku is the boat of Ata, one of the great chiefs of the Tui Kanokupolu. The context implies "Let the canoe of this chief put out to shatter all opposition, that our King reign without a rival."

36. The line *Ke tau nonofo kuo tatau*, seems to have two ideas: first, that the king be equal to his job, and hence know how to treat his *matapule;* and, second that we be all alike under his rule, that is that his rule be marked by even-handed justice.

37. The phrase *Ia ahi a* is not very clear. The word for sandalwood *ahi*, may be a name for the King, in which case the line would follow the preceding one and mean "That we live in justice with Ahi." I have taken *Ia ahi a* as an expletive. The poet is again sarcastic at expense of Mumui.

38. There is in Vavau a cave, or depression, with sweet water in it called Tukitou. Bathing in this pool is said to make one beautiful.

39. "Correctness of a maimed hand" carries with it the implication that with all its correctness of movement in the dance the maimed hand can not achieve fullness of beauty and grace.

40. The exact interpretation is uncertain but it is an expression forbidding speech. Toku is the name of an island north of Vavau, and of several other localities.

42. Tuakilaumea says that he will no longer consort with Mumui.

Pages 100-102. Rhymes for the game of hiko

1. I know of no other occurrence of the form Savaiki in Tongan.
2. Many names in this rhyme are of chiefs.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

her brother Fatafehi, who succeeded his father as Tui Tonga, were children of Telea and Mataukipa, who was the granddaughter of a Tui Tonga. The placing of her name at the head of the poem does not mean that she had anything to do with the composition of it; nor that she is the subject of it. Apparently the bard has named his composition and the dance for which it was sung after this great lady. Another piece in the collection from which this is taken is associated with her name. Probably both pieces and others were sung to the one dance for this piece is much shorter than the song which accompanies the average dance, and it is not unlikely that this and the preceding poem were performed together. The first was concerned with bonito fishing, and this with fishing for *valu* by trailing a hook astern of the canoe. The line, now-a-days at least, is fifty or more yards long.

2. Telekivavau and Telekitonga are a remote little group of uninhabited islets, at the southeast extremity of Haapai.

3. Fetokopunga and Lalona, islets in Haapai.

4. The division of the word Tatohofa is uncertain; it is taken, probably correctly, as one word, the name of a boat.

5. One of the nights of the Tonga month. The phases of the moon were carefully observed by the fisherman, as some days, or nights, were *aho ika*, fish days, that is, favorable days for the catching of fish. The *aho ika* seem to have varied for different localities, or chiefs, which is much the same thing, and fish. A complete list of *aho ika* would furnish doubtless an interesting contribution to the study of lucky and holy days; but it is doubtful if it is possible for such a list to be recovered from the memory of living Tongans. The phase of the moon *uluaki ahoia* would seem to be one of the *aho ika* for the *valu*. I have translated *uluaki* literally as first; but as a matter of fact is seems that the first of these phases of the moon is called *feahoaki*.

6. Matafau, Houmatau, reefs; Fonuaika, an island in Haapai.

7. The "little fish" (*mafua*) are the smaller fish which serve as food for the bigger fish, the *valu*, whose pursuit is the subject of the poem. There is frequent mention of the *mafua*, sometimes with the name of some particular fish. The fishermen direct their course by the appearance of the shoals of smaller fish on which the *valu*, and other large fish, feed.

8. Nonuku, an island; Naa, unidentified, but clearly the name of an island, a reef or a tract of sea.

9. The *ulukou* is a small fish. In this reference a shoal of *ulukou* are the *mafua*.

10. For the remarkable regularity of the appearance of the palolo, the well-known sea-annelid, *Palolo viridis* (32; 6, pp. 135-36).

11. Auhangamea, the sea between the islands of Uiha and Uoleva, in Haapai—a good trawling ground.

12. The fishermen see a shoal of small fish, but on approaching them find that they are *memea*, a fish which the big fish will not eat, so it is useless to go on in that direction.

13. The *ulua* is a large fish. The names *lupolupo*, *memea*, *lupo*, and *tafauli ulua* are said to be used of successive stages of growth of the same species of fish.

14. The *manua* is the name of a night noted by bonito fishers; at that time the moon is past the full.

15. The text reads *ko toamotua;* the emendation *ki Toamotua* is the conjecture of the best informed of living Tongans, but Toamotua is not identified.

16. A hopeful fishing ground is indicated; big fish are there seeking *mafua*. The original text reads *vahi ni*, which is not intelligible; *vaha ni* is merely a conjecture.

17. Luahoko and Ofolanga are islands in Haapai.

18. After the ill success indicated, the fishermen are about to give up, but remember Puke and Faleovalu, spaces of sea within the Haapai group, and go there to try their luck. The last line is extremely terse, and means the fishermen are returning home well satisfied, having caught so many and such big fish that the hook is broken.

Pages 117-118. A praise of beaches

1. The banyan tree is the one under which Captain Cook addressed a great gathering of Tongans. Since that time it has been popularly called Captain Cook's

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

8. The text implies, "People on this side and on that boast of what they can do, but one is as little able as another to give effect to his vaunt. No improvement in spite of all the talk."

9. The reference in these lines is not clear. There was a temple at Ahau, in eastern Tongatabu, and possibly the couplet celebrates the numbers of people who used to resort thither. I have never heard of women disappointed in their hopes of motherhood seeking the aid of the gods.

10. The *tuo* is one sort of fine yam. The verse is applied in several ways. It is used as an admonition to the old and feeble that their active working days are over and that now cooking a little food is all the labor they are fit for. It is used as a reproach to the young and idle; that they come and work that they may eat, only old folk sitting quietly at home. It is also a reprimand to presumptuous inexperience, "If you would have these fine yams to cook and eat you must have the skill in gardening that years of experience give."

11. Plaint of the "willing horse," getting all the burdens and none of the appreciation.

12. Meilongopee (Breadfruit almost falling through overripeness) is the name of a rock near the entrance to the anchorage of the main village, also named Haano, on this island. Another prominent rock in the same anchorage is called Feleunga.

13. A plaint against the sea and its moods.

14. Telekitonga; the southernmost islet of the lonely group Otu Tolu at the southern extremity of Haapai. The northernmost of these islets is called Telekivavau.

15. Hina, the moon.

16. Toloa (Wild Duck) the constellation of the Southern Cross.

17. Muitoa; a cape in the island of Haano, Haapai, at the farther extremity of that island from Foa; also an island in Haapai. The chant is composed from the point of view of one living in an island south from both of these, probably Lifuka, the political head of the Haapai group. The sarcasm is at the expense of one who can not get to the near island of Foa, but aspires to reach Muitoa, at the far end of a more distant island. It is intended as serviceable advice to those whose schemes and aspirations are constantly overlooking the fulfilment of the duty next at hand.

18. This verse was chanted as the presentations of food were being dragged on to the *malae* at the ceremony of Inasi. (See 28, vol. 2, p. 170.)

19. Kalau is an islet off Eua. At one time, tradition has it, it was farther from Eua, but the god Unga (Crab) who is referred to as having left his shell, moved Kalau closer to Eua, and Kiu, Plover, objected to the removal, and flew along early in the morning to stop it.

20. The poem Taufaahau is perhaps hardly to be considered as a *tauaalo* (chanty), though part of it may have been so used. It is perhaps only a fragment of a long poem.

21. Haafeva and Kotu, islands in the western portion of Haapai. Their "island-like pleasantness, or security" may be that they are at a distance from the center of disturbance.

22. Fanganonu is a beach in Lifuka. The lines are attributed to Taufaahau, during his wars before he became Tui Kanokupolu, and supreme head of the entire Tongan group. He was preparing to go to Tonga and Eua to obtain firearms, or cannon, from Kaufana of Eua. Velata, the site of a fortress in Lifuka, Haapai, which may still be seen, was the scene of famous actions in this conflict. The war was already assuming the character of a struggle of the adherents of the older religion and policy against Christianity. In this phase of the struggle, centering in Velata, the heathen party was rallying round the Tui Tonga, who was perhaps present in person. This war is difficult to date; but from the Journal of the Reverend James Watkin (38, pp. 89, 103) it is evident that there were wars and rumors of wars in 1832 and 1833. At the conclusion of hostilities the victorious Taufaahau put the vanquished chiefs, possibly including the Tui Tonga, in canoes, and told them not to land again within the Tongan islands; but Kaunanga, the mother of Tungi, took them ashore at Lapaha. Although Taufaahau finally overthrew the power of the Tui Tonga, yet he is said to have been punctilious in observing the etiquette proper to him and his chiefs in his intercourse with them. During the fighting in Velata, Taufaahau was wounded. It is said that this is the only occasion on which he was wounded in battle. So great an impression has the wounding of this great warrior

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 825 773 **181. Kai aipe manu vaivai i he fangota ae lulutai:** Weak animals are just eaten up when the *lulutai* goes fishing.

The *lulutai*, which would seem to mean literally the sea-owl, is alleged to have been a great bird and is identified, though without certainty, with the mythological *kanivatu*, the huge bird to whose breast Kae clung and was borne across the ocean from Pulotu to Samoa. With regard to this proverb it is said that when the *lulutai* went out for fish the larger sea creatures, such as the whale, were the object of his quest to be taken home to his haunts. Smaller creatures were merely tit-bits casually swallowed by the way. So do the strong prey upon the weak, destroying and consuming them as a thing hardly worth noticing.

539 825 821 136 **182. Lofa tala matangi:** Tern telling wind.

The appearance of the tern (Sterna sp.) indicates the approach of a hurricane. Expressions of this sort are capable of much the same application in Tongan as in English: for example, when you see So-and-So coming you always know that something is the matter.

539 825 581 **183. Lulu taki lulu:** Owl leading owl.

Used generally of the mating of things that suit each other. It is said to have originated with the marriage of Finta Puku, son of the Tui Haangana, with Fatafehi Lapaha, the Female Tui Tonga. Both man and woman were exceedingly handsome.

539 825 829 461 136 **184. Mamahi noa ngutu o fuiva:** Mouth of fly-catcher (*Myiolestes heinei*) labors in vain; or labor in vain of the mouth of the fly-catcher.

The fly-catcher has a sweet note, but his singing is mere waste of time so far as getting food is concerned. So used of anyone who goes to much pains but gets no fruit for his labor. This expression was used of a chief who was vainly assiduous in his addresses to a lady.

539 825 829 571 136 **185. Tengetenga utuaki maa miji:** *Tengetenga* carrying (food) for *miji*.

Tengetenga is a local name in Niua Tobutabu (Keppel's Island) for the *fuiva* (fly-catcher, *Myiolestes heinei*); *miji* is also the name of a bird (*Aplonis tabuensis*). The *tengetenga* is the smaller of these two birds, and the phrase is used for the weak helping the strong, "the poor feeding the rich." (Baker.)

539 825 **186. Molumalu faka-kaka:** Fine like a parrot.

The parrot (*kaka*) found in Eua has an abundance of handsome plumage and with his feathers on looks a large full-fleshed bird. Divested of this showy covering his body is found to be small and thin. Applied to that which is showy but is found to be of little worth.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

285. Toki tau ae vaka e: 539 505

It is difficult to render this proverb literally. As nearly as possible it would be "The boat has but now reached land," but more in accord with the nuance of the Tongan phrase would be an appreciative "My word, the boat has made land at last. It is illustrated by a boat which has struck heavy weather and been forced to run for shelter to some port other than that for which she is making. At last, however, she is able to make the right harbor; the passengers and crew can go ashore for now they have really made the land and are not as before merely seeking a temporary shelter where they do not wish to be.

286. Tuai mei uta: Slow from the land.

The idea is that of delay in a place where one is comfortably placed and has occupation. One may keep a boat waiting while he is seeing to his affairs on shore, but there is more sense in spending time in a place where one has resources at his disposal than in wasting it in the condition of helplessness in which men find themselves at sea.

287. Tuku mo fai la: Letting down and making sail. 539 504 461

A busy port where boats are constantly coming and going. One boat no sooner comes to an anchorage and lowers her sail than another leaves her moorings and hoists her sail. Refers to that which is always busy and on the move. No sooner is one job finished than another is started, like a boat which accomplishes one voyage only to shortly commence another trip.

288. Tuu e la mo poupou: The sail standing with support. 539 501 183

In the Tongan sailing canoe a support was used to strengthen the mast. The sense of the phrase is to take every precaution; not only hoist your sail but see to it that it stands as firmly as possible. Applied generally with this meaning of doing everything to secure stability, success, safety.

289. Uta lea i vaka: Land speaking in boat. 539 502 829

A landsman offering advice or giving orders in a boat.

290. Vaka ki ua: (Making a) boat of neck or shoulders. 539 505 482

The boat is the means of carrying burdens but inland a boat is of no use, so that the neck or shoulders have to be used for this purpose.

291. Vakavaka mua: First boat. 539 571 521

The picture is that of a fast-sailing boat which out-distances other boats and reaches harbor first. Applied to one who is ever ready to speak. Before anyone else can say anything he thrusts in his advice or opinion.

CLIMATE AND SEASONS

292. Aho faka-ua: Double day. 539 821

Used of those times of the month when the moon is so bright that, even after the sun has set, there is sufficient light to perform outside tasks, go journeys, and the like.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 821 461 183 **293. Mokomoko aho:** Coolness (of) day.

This indicates the coolness which precedes the dawn, and is thus a harbinger of day. It is used to encourage those who are getting towards the end of a task. Persevere, be of good heart, we are close to daylight, we have nearly finished.

539 821 **294. To lelei ae ataata:** The dusk falling well, "The sun setting in a clear sky" (Baker).

A sign of fair weather; has the same applications as similar expressions in English.

539 821 571 829 **295. Afa ka e tofu:** Hurricane but there will be calm.

An exhortation to people in hardship not to make their present difficulties an excuse for neglecting the kindnesses which men owe to each other. The present adversity may make it difficult to do a kindness to a neighbor, but prosperity will return and then the neglected opportunities of showing good-will will be remembered with shame.

539 821 **296. Fakatofutofu kae hiko:** Calm but about to blow: apparently well but again falling upon evil.

The expression originates with the hurricane. As the wind veers there is a calm; after this interval the wind blows again from another quarter with as great violence as before. The word *hiko* translated above as "blow" has perhaps the signification of moving on to another quarter. [524] In the game of *lafo* this word is used of a disc which passes another and lies nearer to the scoring-line.

297. Hange ho aho tafitonga: Like a clear bright day (literally day swept by the south wind).

[157] Applied to persons of open, serene countenance.

298. Matafi e tonga ho finangalo: May the south wind sweep your mind; may your mind be serene and unruffled.

[157] The translation given here is probably literally correct but *tafitonga*, which seems literally to mean "swept by the south wind," is felt and written as a single word meaning "clear, serene," and is constantly used of fine weather, and figuratively of the mind.

299. Hange ha aho tuutuu taufa: Like a day of intermittent gale.

[157] A day that is neither consistently fine nor uninterruptedly stormy. Applied to persons and things which show a mingling of various characteristics.

300. Hiko hiko puku: Blow, blow short.

[183] Refers primarily to the wind blowing in short squalls following quickly one another. Used of things good or bad following quickly one after

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) -1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

another but none of them enduring long. The same expression is also used, for example, for the rattling of the lid on a pot of boiling water. 539 821 183

301. Kai tae tala: Eating without telling.

Apparently this indicates primarily one who quietly takes food and eats it without inviting anyone to share it with him, or perhaps one who takes and eats food that belongs to another without saying anything to the owner. The expression is used now only of a wind that comes up suddenly without warning, although in this sense, of course, it is capable of a wide range of metaphorical employment. 539 264 422 [821]

302. Lau matangi fai i fale: Reckoning wind done in house.

Statements made by those who have not taken the measures necessary to ensure that their opinion is worth hearing. 539 821 [571]

303. Tokelau i fale: North in house.

Used of one who sitting inside a house talks about the wind, that it is north or south, without going outside to see how it actually is. So used of the man who freely gives his opinion about matters whose true state he has not the means to ascertain. [829]

304. Toka mono agai: Prepared with (for ?) its opposite.

A wind which blows in one direction but is certain to go around to another quarter, as do the strong gales that sometimes blow in Tonga during the summer months. Generally of things and circumstances that are bound to shift and be of a character opposite to that which they were at first. [132] [83]

305. Hala pe Vai ka ko Vai: The rain has missed but there will be rain. 539 821 805

Vai-mua (Earlier rain, or water) and *Vai-mui* (Later rain, or water) are the names of two moons in the Tongan calendar, corresponding roughly to February and March. If the rain expected in the former of these two wet months fails to appear there is still the later wet month to look for ward to. It is a counsel of courage, bidding us not lose heart immediately on the failure of one expected opportunity. [132]

306. Tanaki kai fai ki Vai: Collecting food for *Vai*, the rainy months, about February or January and March, when the native food supply is low. 539 261 183 [132]

This is an expression of careless indifference, almost of reproof, to deter one who desires to save food for another time. Why save? Let the lean months look after themselves.

307. Ka ai ha ofa pea tali ki Uluenga: If there is any kindness (to do) then wait till Uluenga. 539 571 183

Uluenga is the name of one of the Tongan divisions of the year, about October or November, when the food supply is scanty. The idea, therefore, [805]

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 571 183 is that anyone who wishes to do kind acts had better choose a time when they will be really useful.

539 821 534 412 287 **308. Ngingi uha:** Sounding (of) rain.

This indicates the sound of the mallets used for beating out the native cloth, or the sound of the native drum (*lali*) when there is rain about. The note of the drum or *tappa* mallets is then a sign of rain. Proverbially applied to the signs that something is about to happen. (See No. 564.)

539 821 [183] **309. Uha kei lelei:** Rain still good.

Rain falling at a suitable interval after the last previous downfall, as distinguished especially from rain which falls after so long a period of dry weather that many plants have died and are unable to profit by the downpour when it does come. Generally of actions and circumstances of all sorts that occur at appropriate times and are therefore able to achieve the maximum of good.

SEA AND COAST

539 481 829 **310. Anu tahi:** Swimming (floating, wading) in the sea.

Used of one in difficulties, exactly as we say, "one has got into deep water."

539 481 183 **311. Auhia kae kisu atu pe:** Obstructed by the current but spitting on.

The picture is that of a swimmer striving against the current with the water breaking in his face and getting in his mouth; but who keeps squirting or spitting the water from his mouth and battles bravely on. Applied to one who goes indomitably on his way in spite of the difficulties which beset him.

539 829 184 **312. Fai tahi:** Sea doings, that is, unusual behavior, sometimes deceitful conduct.

The gods of the sea had characteristics different from those of the land; the conduct of people at sea is not the same as their behavior ashore. It is hard to say what special differences, if any, exist between longshore and sea-going habits and particularly why the idea of craftiness should be associated with this expression. Broadly it appears to mean things that are not done ashore.

539 571 825 **313. Fakaita fai ki tahi:** Anger bestowed on sea; "to be revenged on another by punishing oneself." (Baker.)

The story is that a party of brothers prepared food, yam with rats. When the food was divided one of the brothers, apparently the youngest, was dissatisfied with his share and in his chagrin jumped over a cliff into the

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 516 526 423 571 **420. Teketeke tuakoi:** Pushing one, sitting with his back to mine.

This was sometimes done in sport, two people sitting back to back and pushing against each other. Frequently others would join in helping one or the other side. A proverbial use of this expression does not seem to be known today, but Baker gives: "To push away or remove the landmark of another to increase his own," which evidently pictures two contiguous compounds as sitting back to back.

539 352 484 **421. Hiki moe faliki:** Moving with the floor.

The floor of a Tongan house is formed of dry coconut leaves strewed on the ground and covered with mats. A man in shifting quarters will not usually takes these flooring leaves with him, but this expression indicates a migration so complete that it leaves the ground bare; house, floor, and everything being on the march.

539 829 571 **422. Kama e mea ae api kehe:** Attending to the thing in another's home.

This is much like No. 423, used of one who neglects his own business and attends to that of other people. (See No. 346.)

423. Kama noa he mea ae api kehe: To exert oneself for nought in the affairs of another compound.

To use one's energy in labors from which he will get no return; the fruit of his labors will go to those who own the compound.

539 312 [177] [178] **424. Lepa tali ki langi:** Cistern dependent on the sky; a cistern which is filled only by the rain.

The whole matter of water supply and conservation has been modified, of course, by the introduction of European roofing-iron and tanks. Of the cisterns dug formerly by the people some were filled by carrying water from springs; others were filled only by rain. As notable examples of rain-filled cisterns mention is made of natural holes in the rocks near the sea on the islands of Fotuhaa in Haapai, and Niua Foou. We cannot say whether [821] any such expression as this was used in pre-Christian days to express the dependence of man on the gods, but it is used now of the reliance of man on heaven.

539 261 515 **425. Takamilo jiko i tua peito:** Going round defecating outside cook-house.

One should not bring any defilement near the place where his food is prepared, nor should he in any way dishonor his own home. The expression is much like the English proverb about a bird fouling its own nest. (See No. 417.)

539 372 261 **426. Tu mo hokohoka:** Lighting and dabbing, that is, lighting a fire and then dabbing the end of the lighted sticks on the ground to extinguish them; frequently lighting a fire and letting it go out.

Applied to frequently preparing food during the course of one day.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

ing where there are a number of big chiefs none of whom has any marked superiority of rank over the others. In such circumstances the work of distribution of kava, food, and other materials, becomes difficult, as questions of precedence are then delicate. 539 164 554 565

495. Hange ha fononga Makave: Like people from Makave. 539

Makave in Vavau is reputed to have had an unusually large proportion of unfortunates disfigured by the ulceration, which destroys the nose. The expression is used of very well cooked food which is compared to the appearance of the victims of this disease. 164 261

496. Tahataha e tama pea papala: Only one child and afflicted with sores. 539 164 812

The original reference is to parents who have only one child, and that one covered with sores. The expression is applied to those who have only one of a thing, and that one is bad.

DEATH AND BURIAL

497. Afia e mala kehe: Keeping vigil in other people's misfortune. 539

The misfortune referred to is death. It is proper for the relatives of the dead to keep watch round the body. This expression indicates one who joins the watchers round the body of a dead person with whom he has no family connection. Among its applications is one to a man who pays unsuccessful court to a girl. He spends his nights and loses his sleep in visits to the young lady who in the end falls to the lot of some other wooer. As we might say in slang that is very near to the Tongan expression, "it has been somebody's else 'funeral.'" 764 751 [584]

498. Lau hono fala: His mat is reckoned, or his sand is reckoned. 539

When one is about to die people are sent to commence arrangements for interment by getting the sand up from the seashore to fill in the grave and build up the mound over it. At the present time this sand is carried in ordinary rough baskets of coconut leaf but previously it used to be brought in mats wound round the waist and having a large fold in the front into which the sand was put. The phrase means that death is certain. One frequently hears it, for instance, in games, said of a side whose defeat appears to be inevitable and imminent. (See No. 505.) 763 [485] [415] [482]

499. Lelei ae ofa ki afitoka: Kindness to the cemetery is good. 539

I feel kindly disposed to this person, but it is best that he be laid to rest in the burying-ground and that my love should go out to him there. Used, for example, of one who for a long time has been very sick, so that his friends despair of his recovery and are tired of looking after him. 761

500. Hange ha mata tae pokia: Like an eye not shut. 539

This refers to the closing of the eye of the dead. The expression is used of one who sleeps with his eyes open, also of a person with a frank open countenance, and of sun, moon, or stars when they appear clear and unclouded. 764 513 826 821

9: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tongan Astronomy and Calendar

By E. E. V. Collocott

From the exceedingly fragmentary and obscure accounts it 821
appears that the Tongans possess but the vaguest notions of the heavens and of the relations of the sky to stars and sun and moon. They evidently thought of a number of skies, one above the other. One informant expressed the opinion that the number of skies was as great as one hundred. He also suggested a connection between [764]
the skies and the great burial vaults at Mua and elsewhere, and it is worthy of note that sky and vault are called by the same name, *langi*. The stars are said to be in the highest sky.

So far as I have been able to discover, the study of astronomy 502
was treated by the Tongans as a branch of navigation. Certain it [815]
is that these bold and skilful mariners were keen observers of the heavens and that no small part of the equipment of the old sea captains was the ability, based rather on experience and judgment than on rules, to determine when to shift from one star or constellation and to set the course by another group.

Practically the whole of the available star lore of the Tongans 127
is embraced in sailing directions written by the late Tukuaho, a high chief who was Premier of Tonga about thirty years ago. Tukuaho, fortunately, was an intelligent diarist who carefully wrote down what he heard. His account, copied with permission of his son Tungi, Consort of Her Majesty Queen of Tonga, has been followed in the preparation of this paper.

Few if any living Tongans are able to point to and name more 821
than a very small proportion of the stars, and only in rare instances have I been able to identify the stars named. This rapid 502
decay of the old astronomy is doubtless due to the universal use of the mariner's compass. Star lore was preserved by the old navigators, but there is no longer need to rely upon it.

9: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

DIVISIONS OF THE HEAVENS

821 The Tongan mariner divided the heavens into three areas or zones, called *fanakenga*, a word which apparently means risings (compare Samoan *fana'e*, rising of tide and moon: Maori, *whanake*, to move onwards or upwards). These three divisions are named respectively: Fakatonga (southward), the southern zone; Faka-loto-langi (mid-sky), the mid-sky zone: Faka-tokelau (northward), the northern zone. Guide stars were observed astern as well as ahead and the boat was kept in line with them. As the stars or constellations were probably used when at or near their meridians, different constellations were utilized at different seasons of the year. In the following list the stars seem to be arranged in the order in which they rise.

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STARS OF THE SOUTHERN ZONE

1. **Houma-utu,** mentioned by Tukuaho as used at a time which corresponds to about March.
2. **Haila-toloa,** four stars (compare Samoan, *Saliatoloa*, the name of a certain star[1]).
3. **Toloa,** four stars.
4. **Lua-a-tangata,** two stars (compare Samoan, *Luatangata*, the name of two stars, Castor and Pollux).
5. **Moa-a-mahe,** one star (compare Samoan, *Moa*, the name of a moon in the wet season).

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773 This completes the southern zone as given by Tukuaho. Of these stars and constellations Toloa is the Southern Cross. Toloa means a wild duck, and Tongan imagination pictures the Cross as a duck whose head is gamma and tail alpha, the wings being beta and delta. The wing delta being dimmer than its fellow is said to have been injured by a stone thrown by the Two Men, Ongo Tangata, alpha and beta Centauri. The stone itself, *Maka*, is epsilon in the Cross.

Although Tongan confirmation is lacking, I think it probable that the Two Men, which are missing from Tukuaho's list, are to be identified with Lua-a-tangata, sometimes called Lua-ae-tangata. In its present form this name would mean man's vomit, but prob-

[113]

[1] Pratt, George, Grammar and dictionary of the Samoan language, 4th ed., Samoa, 1911.

9: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

ably an older and more correct form is Lua-tangata, or Lua'i-tangata, two men. Lua, two, is not now found as a common numeral in Tongan, the ordinary form being ua, but *lua* is the numeral two in Samoan, and is found in Tongan in composition. Both Brown[1] and Pratt[2] give Lua-tangata as the Samoan name for Castor and Pollux, with Filo and Mea as the individual names of the two stars, but the presence of Lua-a-tangata in the southern zone and in close proximity to the Southern Cross in the Tongan list is against this identification for Tonga.

Other names for stars in the southern division are Tuutanga-ufi (piece of yam), and Mamangi Halahu, both of which appear to be variants for stars already mentioned, possibly for alpha Centauri, or according to other information for Moa-a-mahe. Tuutanga-ufi is the name used by the people of Ula, the chief sailor of the Tui Kanokupolu. Halahu is the name of a place in the high island of Eua near Tongatabu, where the species of yam called *mamangi* is supposed to flourish with exceptional luxuriance. This star was used in sailing from Fiji to Tonga.

Still another name for Mamangi Halahu is Mau-kuo-mau, an expression meaning got (arrived at) when clear, and used of a person who arrives at a kava party when the beverage has been strained and is clean and ready for drinking. The people of the Haapai chief Tuita are said to use this name for the star.

The dark patch of sky near the left-hand end of the Southern Cross is called Humu, and is brought into close association with the Southern Cross, as for example in the verse, which in the absence of legend is not remarkably intelligible:

Humu moe Toloa
To hono fuji pea yaqa:
Pea lele mai kuli Fiji.
Tali fanaia, hala he vae, tau he ate.

Humu and Toloa
Plant their plantain and overgrown with bush:
And Fiji dog runs hither.
His reception is being shot, missed in the leg, hit in the liver.

Humu is the name of a fish. The Samoan word *sumu* is the name of fishes of the genus Balistes, and also the name of a clus-

[1] Brown, George, Melanesians and Polynesians, p. 348. London, 1910.
[2] Op. cit.

9: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

821 ter of stars. Samoan legend states that the *sumu* (fish) and *toloa* (duck) were taken up to heaven and became signs.[4] Maafu-lele (running fire) and Maafu-toka (lying, stationary fire) are the names of two bright patches in the southern sky, either of nebulae, or, according to other information, portions of the Milky Way. Baker[5] applies these names to the small and great Magellanic clouds respectively. The Milky Way is called Kaniva (compare Samoan, *Aniva*).

STARS OF THE MID-SKY ZONE

1. **Fanlu,** a single star.
2. **Majiji,**[6] a single star.
3. **Moenga-manu, or Mohenga-manu** (sleeping place of a bird, or animal), a thick cluster of stars.
4. **Mataliki,** the Pleiades—in all probability.
5. **Matamemea,** a single star. This word appears to mean ruddy and is given by Pratt as the Samoan name of Mars.
6. **Tuinga-lama,** three stars. This word, meaning a torch of candlenuts, appears to be Samoan rather than Tongan and is given both by Brown[7] and Pratt[8] as the Samoan name for an unidentified star.
7. **Faipa,** three stars.
8. **Alotolu,** three stars. Alotolu means a three-oared boat, or three in a boat, and is the name of a portion of the constellation of Orion. Tongan tradition asserts that Alotolu is the boat in which Hina went with her father, Maungakoloa, and her mother, Tamatangikai, in search of Hina's pet shark, which had escaped when the sea overflowed the pool where it was kept. Hina and her parents, as well as her two brothers, Ngatai and Fanua, were turned into various rocks and beaches in Vavau. Closely associated with Alotolu in Tonga is Tuinga-ika (string of fish), which is missing from Tukuaho's list. Both Tuinga-ika and Alotolu are parts of Orion, and it is possible that Tuinga-lama, which seems to be better known in Samoa than in Tonga, is identical with Tuinga-ika.

821 773

821 9. **Tolonga-Maui** (throwing of Maui ?), one star.
10. **Takulua-Alofi and Takulua-Tua-fanua,** two large stars which rise one in front (alofi) of Akaua and the other at the back (tua) of the island.

[4] Pratt, op. cit. See the word *sumu*.

[5] Baker, Rev. S. W., An English and Tongan and Tongan and English vocabulary, Auckland, 1897. [113]

[6] Throughout this paper I have adhered to the practice of writing *j* before *i*. In earlier Tongan the syllable *ji* had much the sound of English *tchi*, but is now indistinguishable from *si*. [104]

[7] Brown, op. cit., p. 349.

[8] Pratt, op. cit.

9: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

The Akana mentioned is probably the Aana of Samoa. Pratt and Brown give Taulualofi and Tauluatuafanua as Samoan star names. Brown[9] suggests that the names mean the pair Lofi and Tuafanua, or that Lofi and Tuafanua were joined together as the Siamese twins. If this is the correct explanation there is doubtless some forgotten legend connected with the names. The Tongan forms suggest the possibility that the names are of topographical origin and refer to stars which rise respectively at the front and at the back of Aana, though in that case two pairs of stars, or two double stars rather than two single stars, would seem to be indicated. 821

STARS OF THE NORTHERN ZONE

1. **Ao-o-Uvea,** a circular constellation. The word means circlet of Uvea, and the cluster is said to owe its name to the fact that the mariner does not use it as a guide until it is standing like a circlet around Uvea. [502]
2. **Kapakau-o-Tafahi,** eight stars. The name means wing of Tafahi (Boscawen Island). This cluster is said to be like a hen brooding over Tafahi with wings appearing on either side. It has been identified as Coma Berenices, but the identification is doubtful, as the honor is shared with the constellation Fatanalua.
3. **Tupa-a-Vaitupu,** three stars. This group is named after the crab (*tupa*), one star being called the Big Claw (Vae Lahi), and another the Little Claw (Vae Jii).
4. **Fatanalua,** eight stars. The word seems to mean double bier. The eight stars are divided into two groups of four, called respectively Upper Bier (Fata Olunga) and Lower Bier (Fata Lalo). This constellation also has been identified with Coma Berenices.
5. **Tuula-lupe,** five stars. The word means pigeon roost. Sailing directions, which are rather obscure, state that this constellation must not be used to steer by till it stands straight like a pigeon perch, which consists of a vertical upright with crosspiece at the top. In Samoa the same word is used as a star name. [502]
6. **Kaukupenga,** twelve stars. This constellation is said to stand round like a net (*kupenga*), possibly the pigeon snaring net. It may be the Corona Borealis, though there is no Tongan identification to support this supposition.
7. **Telengehe,** a single large star (compare Samoan, *Telengese*).
8. **Takelo,** two stars, so named from their yellow or ruddy tinge (*kelo*). Pratt gives *taelo* as the Samoan name of a moon in the wet season.

[9] Brown, op. cit., p. 349.

9: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

The stars listed for the three sky zones are arranged in the order given in Tukuaho's diary. I am indebted to Mr. E. W. Gifford for the following sailing directions given by the chief Maatu of Keppel Island, which lies far north of the main part of the Tongan group:

> In sailing south to Tongatabu, steer by Haliatoloa, Lua-ae-tangata, and Faipa.
>
> In sailing north to Keppel Island, steer by Faipa, Aloua (two-oared boat), Telengehe, Fatanalua, Tupa, Tuutangauñ, and Vai-utu-ki-tua (water carried outside) of which a variant is Utuñ-ki-tua (carried outside).

It will be noted that most of the stars named by Maatu are included among those mentioned on the preceding pages but that Maatu's list does not follow the same order as the list arranged by Tukuaho. No living Tongan known to me is able to point out the various stars named, but I am of the opinion that for a conjectural reconstruction of the system the order given by Tukuaho can be followed with confidence.

THE SUN

When the sun sets it is said by the Tongans to go down to Lolofonua, the Underworld, the abode of the Maui, whence it issues at its rising, but I have been able to find no explanation of the sun's daily journey nor of its path between the Tropics. If native accounts existed of these phenomena they are entirely or almost forgotten. One informant said he had heard a story of the reason of the sun's setting but had forgotten it.

It is said that someone named Loau, who lived long before the Loau of Haamea in Tongatabu so famous in Tongan tradition, traveled to Samoa and thence to Tonga in search of the sun. But beyond this bare mention I have heard nothing of this personage and his quest.

A Tongan tradition connects Jinilau with the sun—Jinilau being said to be the son of the sun and a mortal woman. Throughout Polynesia there is an association of Jinilau with Hina, and the Tongan tradition states that Hina was married to Jinilau. Clouds on the eastern horizon at sunrise are said to be placed there to ensure privacy for the sun and Jinilau as they talk together.

9: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

THE MOON

There seems great probability that the theory which connects Hina with the moon, *mahina*, is correct. Tongan tradition associates Hina with the shark. A myth from Eueiki in Tonga asserts that Hina was an exceedingly beautiful girl, the daughter of the chief of Eueiki, and that one day while sporting in the breakers she was swallowed by a Samoan deity, who assumed the shape of a shark for the purpose. Possibly this myth is to be referred to the monthly disappearances of the moon.

The association of Hina with the Maui is also common throughout Polynesia. In Tongan myth a maiden Sinailele, living in Fiji, becomes pregnant by stepping over the bones of Maui Atalanga and Maui Kijikiji, and thereby becomes the mother of Tui Motuliki.[10] Sinailele seems to be a Fijian modification of Hina, and the connection of Hina with the Maui may be a connection of the moon with the Underworld, parallel with the association of the sun with the Underworld.

There is a place at Matoto in Vavau which affords a fine outlook over the ocean and is famous as a spot at which to see the moon rise. This locality is named Mata-mahina-hopoanga, or Matanga-mahina-hopo, place of seeing moon rise. When parties repair thither they must make no noise and kindle no fire till the moon is fully above the horizon. As the moon appears over the ocean as though she were floating up from the depths of the sea, she is said to *kakau mai*, swim hither. When she is clear of the horizon and the onlookers are free of the tabu on noise it seems to be not unusual to raise cries of joy. The information I have been able to obtain about this custom is very scanty, but it is possible that details, if one could obtain them, would be full of interest.

There is a couplet referring to this moon-viewing site.

Fine taumelo hake ki Matoto	Harbinger woman goes up to Matoto
Ko ene fie mamata he mahina hopo.	Because she wants to see the moon rise.

The moon, also the sun, in eclipse is termed by the Tongans *mate*, dead. In ancient times this phenomenon seems to have

[10] Folk-Lore, vol. 32, No. 1, pp. 53 ff., 1921.

9: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

821 attracted little attention. Likewise among modern Tongans eclipses do not excite very great awe, but there is some disposition to regard them as ominous, especially an eclipse of the moon in which the shadowed planet has a ruddy tinge. It is not unlikely that this modern attribution of ominousness has arisen from certain expressions in the Bible, especially as interpreted by those sects that emphatically teach the existence of occult relations between such phenomena and human history.

THE TONGAN CALENDAR

LONG PERIODS OF TIME

805 The word *tau*, used in modern Tonga as the equivalent of the English year, means also the yam crop, and although it is possible that before the advent of Europeans this word signified the annual circuit of the seasons, there can be little doubt that primarily it refers to the yam.

There seems to have been no system whereby numbers of years were counted. The practice, still prevalent enough, was to reckon long periods by comparison of notable incidents, of generation with generation or of man with man. As a countryman may say that a certain event happened the year that the red cow died, or just before the drought or the flood, so the Tongan reckoned by such things as [551] war, festival, drought, and hurricane. It is not uncommon to find personal names commemorating the fact that their bearers entered life contemporaneously with the occurrence of some outstanding event. The Tongan of today, like the European who employs such methods, proceeds to translate his date when located into calendar years and months.

The life of man is frequently used as a standard. In answer to the question when such a thing happened one may get such replies as "I was a child running about at the time." "I was a young man." "My mother told him that it occurred just before I was born." In the same way people speak of their ages. One may say that he is of the same generation (*toutangata*) as another man; a very aged man may be spoken of as having outlived all his con-

9: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

three generations since this happened" or "It occurred when my father's father was a child."

A general word for long ago, ancient times, is *onoaho*, as *onoponi* is used for recent time, the present age. There are several expressions for remote antiquity, as, *Hau o Momo* (when Momo was king), *Hau o Tuitatui* (when Tuitatui was king), *Hau o Muni Matamahae* (when Muni of the Torn Eye was king), *Hau o Motuku Veevalu* (when Motuku Veevalu, literally Eight-legged, was king). There are of course other words meaning uncountable, long enduring, which may be used to express the same idea of remotest antiquity.

SEASONS AND MONTHS

The Tongan year is said to have begun at about the same time as the Christian year, though no satisfactory explanation is given. Gill[11] states that the Mangaians begin their year about the middle of December, the point of departure being marked by the appearance of the Pleiades on the eastern horizon just after sunset. This or some similar astronomical phenomenon may possibly have determined the beginning of the Tongan year.

The two broad divisions of the year, in one of which the days and nights are cooler than in the other, were recognized and used to classify seasons. Close observation of the habits of plants and of animals provided a basis for more exact division. The times when certain trees cast their leaves, flowered, or bore fruit were utilized in making the calendar, as were also the periods when particular fish appeared. The greatest importance attaches to the various stages of the growth of the yam. A large part of the nomenclature of the moons is based on seasonal changes observed in this plant.

The normal year consisted of twelve months, though some years had thirteen. The nomenclature is largely agricultural, but there seems no reason to doubt the statement that the names were applied to the moons. The months and the commonly received explanations of their names are as follows:

[11] Gill, W. W., Myths and songs from the South Pacific, p. 317, London, 1876.

9: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

221 805 136 831 244

growth when their heads are yellow under the scales. Ashore this is a time of scarcity, whence the proverb, *Ka ai ha ofa tatali ki Ulucuga*. If there is any kindness (gift) wait till Ulucnga, when presents of food will be most useful. When yams are dug a small piece of the root is sometimes thrown back into the hole. These pieces grow into yams, which though small are deep in the ground on account of the manner of their planting. During the time of scarcity people search for these little yams, and in bending down to throw the soil out of the deep holes they are likely to make themselves yellow-headed.

221 805 244

12. **Tanu-manga:** Throwing soil on branch, fork. November-December. A growing yam is likely to project slightly above the ground, and frequently a small yam grows down from the same stem thus making a branch or fork on the head of the root. In this month if the head of a yam appears forked (*manga*), the gardener banks it over with soil (*tanu*).

With Tanumanga the year normally ends. If, however, observation of the yam and other plants and of fishes at the next new moon fails to discover the appearances proper to the month with which the year begins, Lihamua, another month is intercalated.

221 805 415

13. **Ooa-ki-fangongo:** Using a coconut-shell as basket. *Ooa* is said to be a reduplicated form of *oa*, one sort of basket; *fangongo* is an empty coconut-shell cut open and used as a receptacle for small things. This is a time of scarcity, and the idea is that one needs but a small receptacle in which to place his food.

NIGHTS OF THE MONTH

805 With the Tongans, as with other Polynesians, it is habitual to count by nights rather than by days. Where the English speaker says "five days after" the Tongan says "five nights after." An intelligent Tongan suggests as a reason that his people treat the hours of daylight and of the succeeding darkness as one day and that in reckoning the closing portion of the day is considered.

The division of the month was based on the phases of the moon, and the days or nights were counted within the month, several of the nights having special names. Expressed perhaps in a better way, there were special names for the moon in several of 805 her phases. The fisherman has strong reasons for close observance 226 of the moon, as some days are *aho ika*, fish days, favorable for the catching of certain sorts of fish. These fish days evidently vary with different localities and for different species of fish.

805 821 It is asserted that the appearance of the moon in a looking-

9: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

glass, probably a pool of water in former days, indicates the night of the month. The theory is that when the moon is thus viewed she does not appear single, but behind the image of the moon itself there is a reflection or shadow, giving the image of another moon. Sometimes one, sometimes more of these reflections appear, and according to the number of moons showing in the glass one may know what night of the month it is. Nights are named *faka-ua*, two-wise, *faka-tolu*, three-wise, and so on. On a two-wise night two moons appear in the glass, on a three-wise night three moons, and four-wise, five-wise, six-wise, seven-wise, and eight-wise nights appear to be recognized. 805 821

When the moon is looked at in a glass these subsidiary images certainly do appear, in varying number, but the appearance is affected by the quality of the glass and by the way in which it is held. Personal trial has yielded very unsatisfactory results, and Tongans who explain this method of reckoning nights do not seem very sure of its application.

In listing the Tongan nights it is impossible to be quite certain of some details, as excellent informants vary slightly in their accounts. One man, for instance, begins his count of the nights from that called *aho oe toutai*, sailor's day; another regards this as the second night of the month. It is not certain how far the "two-wise, three-wise" system of reckoning extended, either in an ascending series of the waxing moon or in a descending series of the waning moon, but it does not seem to have gone beyond eight or possibly nine. The words *aho*, day, or *po*, night, are freely interchangeable. But while there may be errors in detail the main outlines of the system are clear. 805

Po ae faahikehe: Night of the spirit. This is a night on which the moon is not visible to men; she is still below the horizon, and seen only by the gods. It is said that the horizon glows for a considerable time after sunset on this day. This is the shining of the yet invisible moon. This night may be considered either as the first of the month or as a spirit's night lying loose between months and left out of the count of human nights. I am unable to determine whether or not it should be counted as the first, but on the whole think it best to start with the next night. 805 821

1. **Po ae toutai:** Sailor's night. The moon is still invisible to landsmen but seen by those who are at sea.

9: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

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2. **Faka-ua:** Two-wise, and so on to the eighth, *faka-valu*, to which a special name seems to have been applied, *punifanga* (shutting the circle formed by the brow and top of the head). The moon is now shaped like the front of the top of the human face and head. This name may have been applied to the following night also.

10. **Fuofua-vale:** Incomplete—the moon almost full.

11. **Mahina katoa:** All moon, that is, full moon.

12. **Fe-aho-aki:** Caught between two days. When the sun has set the moon has already appeared above the horizon, and when the sun rises on the following morning the moon is still in the sky.

13. **Uluaki ahoia:** First "caught by daylight," "out all night." If one stays up all night and is still up at sunrise he is said to be *ahoia*, "day-ed." So on this night the moon is still up when the sun rises.

Then follow second, third, and so on *ahoia* nights, when the moon is caught in the sky by the rising sun, but the interval between sunset and moonrise gradually gets longer, till at last there is a night when the moon does not appear at all but is *mate*, dead. This night is the end of the month and immediately precedes Po ae faahikehe, night of the spirit.

In counting the waning moons a nomenclature is employed similar to that used in reckoning the waxing moon, but in the reverse direction. *faka-valu*, eight-wise, *faka-fitu*, seven-wise, on down to *faka-ua*, two-wise which immediately precedes the night on which the moon is dead. This nomenclature seems to run parallel with the reckoning of the *ahoia* nights for a portion of the waning moon.

[262] Ma-tofi, which means sliced *ma* (a food made by burying and fermenting breadfruit or plantain), is a name applied to the waning moon on the second *ahoia* night, when it presents the appearance of a large lump of this food with a piece sliced off the side. A European parallel would be a cheese with a piece cut off one side.

Kalipa is used to describe the moon when rather less than half and on the few succeeding nights, starting from about the time when the waning moon is *faka-valu*, eight-wise.

One informant applied the words Kalipa, Ma-tofi, and Fuofua-vale (noted above of the waxing and almost full moon) indifferently to the waxing and waning moon.

Lekeleka-mate, almost dead (?), is applied to the moon as it appears on the few nights shortly before its disappearance at the end of the month.

9: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

805 [231]

idea is said to be that this is the time when the pigs wake and begin to move about; there is not yet enough light for them to be distinctly visible, but they appear merely as dark blots or shadows.

17. **Ata:** Shadow, slight appearance. This is explained in the same way as the preceding, but with the reference to men instead of to pigs.

18. **Mafoa ae ata:** Breaking of the shade; possibly, crack of the upper air. Dawn.

19. **Hengihengi:** Very early morning.

20. **Maa ae aho:** The day clear. Just about sunrise.

21. **Hopo ae laa:** Sunrise.

22. **Uhu,** a general term for the early morning.

23. **Pongipongi,** a general term for about sunrise to midday, like the English morning.

[231] 24. **Fangai-lupe:** Feeding pigeon. Time for those in charge of the tame pigeons to feed the birds. For Samoa this is about 9 a. m.[12]; for Tonga Baker[13] gives it as about 9 till 11 a. m.

25. **Pale ki hahake:** Slanting to east. The morning hours before the sun has come to the meridian.

26. **Tuutonu malie ae laa:** The sun standing straight, that is, midday. Another expression for this is Hoata or Hoata malie.

27. **Pale ki hihifo:** Slanting to west. The sun has now passed the meridian. Afternoon.

28. **Efiafi:** Afternoon. A general word, usually applied to late afternoon and frequently to the earlier hours of darkness, like the English evening.

29. **Hopo ae moa:** The fowl jumping, that is, the fowl going to roost. Although clocks have become fairly common, yet the Tongans frequently express the time of day by the position of the sun. An expression for "now," "this present time," is *feituu laa ni*, this place of the sun. Frequently in answer to a question as to when a thing did or will occur, the Tongan points to the sky and says, the sun was, or will be, there.

Other Tongan expressions are:

Apongipongi, tomorrow; Anoiha, the day after tomorrow; Moitolu, three days hence; Aneafi, yesterday; Aneheafi, the day before yesterday; Tua-aneheafi, the day before the day before yesterday.

MISCELLANEOUS TERMS

821 1. **Tapukitea,** Venus when she appears in the evening (compare Samoan *Tapuitea*, the evening star).

[12] Pratt, op. cit. See the word *fagailupe*: Brown, op. cit., p. 348.

[13] Baker, S. W., An English and Tongan and Tongan and English Vocabulary, Auckland, 1897. See the word *fagailupe*.

9: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

2. **Fetuu-aho:** Day star, or morning star. This is frequently applied to Venus in her early morning appearances, but the name seems equally applicable to any bright star whose rising closely precedes the dawn (compare Samoan *Fetuao*, the morning star). 821

3. **Fetuu fuka:** Flag or flagged star, a comet.

4. **Fetuu ejiafi:** Fire-bringing star, shooting star.

5. **Uha:** Rain. Belongs to great deities, the Tangaloa, who reside in the sky. This is the reason why prayers for rain were made to the goddess Tafakula, a descendant of the Tangaloa, who passed human supplications on to headquarters. [782] [776]

6. **Umata:** Rainbow. The rainbow belongs to a deity. It is tabu to point to the rainbow, and should one disregard this prohibition the limb with which he points will swell with elephantiasis or perhaps as with elephantiasis. [776] [784] [753]

7. **Mofuike:** Earthquake—is caused by Maui digging too energetically in his garden in the Uaderworld. Another account, which is much more doubtful, relates that Maui, getting drowsy, lets the earth totter. Whatever the cause the remedy is simple: make a great noise and beat on the ground to recall the god to a sense of his misdemeanor. 823 776

8. **Ahiohio:** Whirlwind. A blind god, who rushes about not knowing whither he is going nor what damage he is doing. A small whirlwind is a small god and a large whirlwind a great deity. In dealing with this blind god the right procedure is to induce him to go elsewhere by making a noise so that he may know that he is interfering with men. 821 776

I desire to express my thanks to Mr. E. W. Gifford of the Bayard Dominick Expedition, Bishop Museum, who has made available information collected in 1920-1921, including interesting notes written by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker of Haapai; to my wife, whose interest in Tongan lore places me under constant obligation; to Prince Tungi, the Consort of Her Majesty the Queen of Tonga; and to my friends and colleagues of the Methodist Mission, Rev. J. Havea, Rev. D. Malupo, and Rev. A. Tamale. 122

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

to this region, however, they believed none were admitted but the chiefs: the tooa, or lower class, therefore, having no hope of sharing such bliss, seldom speculate upon a futurity, which to them appeared a prospect "lost in shadows, clouds, and darkness."

All, however, seemed to find consolation in calling upon a Deity, in trouble, or applying to him for a continuance of plenty. They solemnly implored his blessing, when they set their yams, and expressed their gratitude to him, when they gathered them, by offerings to Duatonga the priest who personated him and interceded for them. Each district also called upon its appropriate God, and each change in the elements summoned them to address its peculiar divinity. Was there a storm? They called on Calla Filatonga, who, they supposed, was the goddess of the wind. Were they deluged with rain, or parched with heat? They supplicated Tongaloer, the god of the sky and rain, as they said, the Deity was very angry. Was there an earthquake? They cried out to Mowe, a giant who, they supposed, supported the island on his shoulders. An instance of this occurred not many months after we had landed at Tongataboo. We had lain down about 10 o'clock, after our evening service, to rest; when we were alarmed by a considerable shock: but our alarm was much increased, immediately after, by an universal shout of all the natives within hearing, in every direction. The next day we

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

services of the expert are called in. This fishing is planned for the night of the full moon. Six or seven days before this time, the men of the village are called together by the expert. Each man is asked to provide from ten to fifteen coconut-sheets. During the day of the full moon, the men drive a row of stakes across the exit to a wide shallow bay. To these stakes the *pola* are tied, two deep generally being sufficient. As the full moon comes up the tide will be high. The expert and others with boats float about inside the netted area catching the fish that jump into the boats. The remainder of the fishermen stand round outside the nets. Calico sheets are fastened to the tops of the *pola* and as the frightened fish try to leap over the obstructions, they are caught in these sheets. The people make as much noise as possible to frighten the fish. At a given signal from the expert, made when the tide is quite low, all the fishermen jump inside the closed arc and catch as many fish as they can. This type of fishing is carried out from November to March. Huge catches are often made. The occasion is looked upon as one of great fun. Young and old join in the sport, making as much noise as they can and enjoying the frantic excitement as the trapped fish struggle from grasping hands.

Large quantities of herring are sometimes caught by a similar use of coconut-leaf traps together with the addition of a fish-poisoning substance. This fish-poisoning is the crushed leaves and stalks of a shrub known as *kavahaha*. A circle of coconut *pola* is formed. At a signal from the expert fisherman in charge, the mouth of this circle is closed by men who beat the waters and drive the fish into the trap. Women round the circle throw the poisoning inside. The fish quickly become stupefied and are easily caught.

Hook and line fishing is carried on from canoes by one or more men. Trolling from a canoe is often successful in the months from September to December. Flying-fish netting is not a known method of fishing today. Some men in Pangai know the techniques for bonito-fishing and the beds off Vava'u where there is more likelihood of catching bonito from December to March. But bonito-fishing is no longer carried out. One informant mentioned Niuafo'ou as the only place today where old Tongan methods of catching bonito were still in use.

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

This was not the only god to whom offerings were made to ensure immunity from hurricane, but he seems to have had some especially close connection with the winds, as it is said that he has on occasion brought the people to cannibalism with his destructive hurricanes. A story is told of the heroic chief Takai, who was a match for his gusty majesty. Takai challenged Bulotu Katoa to a trial of strength, defying him to destroy a house which he should build. So the house was built strong and taut and the god invited to do his worst. Bulotu Katoa blew with all his might from the north. The house stood. The god veered round to the south. This was too much for Takai's workmanship, and the structure was demolished. Nothing daunted, Takai collected from all parts of the country beams of the hard wood called *ngeji*, and tried again. The god was invited to try his strength on this second building, but though he employed his greatest hurricanes it was in vain, for Takai's house withstood his every attempt.

It was to Bulotu Katoa that the man strangled under the piece of native cloth mentioned above was offered. This god is also brought into interesting connection with the murder of Tubou Niua by Tubou Toa, of which an eye-witness' account is preserved by Mariner. The two sons of Tubou Niua, Lasiki and Tubou Toutai, fled to Lakepa. In course of time Taufaahau (afterwards King George Tubou I.), the son of Tubou Toa, paid a friendly visit to the sons of the man whom his father had slain. Lasiki and Tubou Toutai besought Bulotu Katoa to slay Taufaahau, but the god replied that he was unable to do so, as the white man's God, whom Taufaahau then worshipped, was too mighty for him. On this confession of impotence Lasiki and Tubou Toutai slew the priest of Bulotu Katoa, and became Christians.

(To be continued.)

[pp. 164-226 not processed]

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

buried in the rather imposing terraced native vaults in Uiha. There was some question as to whether the king himself should not be buried there, as doubtless he would have been if old native custom had been observed, but one of the outward symbols of recent Europeanisation is a royal burial ground in Nukualofa, in which cement takes the place of the great coral slabs cut from the reef with which the tomb of an ancient chief was built up. Before his conversion to Christianity Tubou I. worshipped Toke-i-Moana, whose sacred animal is, as the name implies, the sea-eel. A temple was built for him in Uiha. The sick were taken to Toke-i-Moana and sometimes cured, and sometimes not, after the customary tribute of finger had been collected from an unfortunate relative. There is the usual *tabu* against eating the flesh of the god or approaching a place where it is being prepared as food.

Jinilau is the son of a woman who used, in going out to fish on the reef, always to turn her back to the rising sun, and at length conceived by that luminary, the fruit of this extraordinary marriage being Jinilau, who is spoken of as the god of beauty. Exceptionally handsome persons were called Jinilau, their attractive appearance being regarded as the gift of the god.

Jinilau married Hina, but before the marriage took place the poverty of the god and his mother made the procuring of appropriate adornment to grace the occasion a matter of no small difficulty. The mother, however, solved the question by telling Jinilau to go to his father the Sun and secure his assistance, adding that he must go to him very early in the morning. Jinilau slept too long, and the sun was already above the horizon before the dilatory groom reached him and preferred his request. After a few grumbling remarks about his son's coming to him when he was right up where all the world could be witnesses of their conversation the old gentleman drew a cloud across between them and the eyes of prying mortals, and they had a cosy secluded chat, with no doubt results satisfactory to Jinilau. Hence arise the light clouds which frequently fleck the horizon at sunrise.

There is also an old myth in which Jinilau figures as lord of Akaua in Samoa (Folk-Lore," Vol. I., page 94). The Mangaian and Maori Tiniran is lord of fishes, and this Samoan Jinilau has also special connection with the fish, the Tongan story agreeing with the Maori in representing him as lending a whale to Kae, which Kae treacherously killed, and was afterwards slain himself to expiate the crime. In the Tongan story there are two whales, called Tonga and Tununga, relatives of Jinilau, which are lent to Kae to take him to his home in Tonga. By the treachery of Kae, Tununga is killed but Tonga, sadly scarred, returns to Jinilau, and relates the fate of his companion. The attendants of Jinilau thereupon go to Tonga and bear Kae back to Samoa whilst he is asleep, and there he is slain. Tununga had

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

Sharks' teeth were a regular part of the furnishing of temples dedicated to shark deities. 237 778

Tobukulu and Nafanua, the twin sisters mentioned above, daughters of Toki-langa-fonua and Hina, and the mothers of Hemoana and Tafakula. They were turned into two rocks to which prayers were made for good seasons and big hauls of fish. 776 [823] [782]

Hemoana, literally Sea-Wanderer, has already been noticed in the brief notes of the creation myth as one of the original gods. Another account regards him as the son of Tobukulu, born whilst his mother, with her twin sister, was swimming home to Eua after the incest with their father. Toki-langa-fonua had abandoned Eua in horror at the discovery of the close relationship that subsisted between himself and Hina, but the desire of the twins to see their father had added fresh blots to the family history. 779

Hemoana was abandoned in the sea by his mother as soon as he was born. He was wont to appear in the sea-snake (*tuku-hali*). [825]

Tafakula, literally Red-Edge, a female divinity, born soon after Hemoana as their mothers were swimming from Samoa to Eua. Tafakula's mother, Nafanua, refused to abandon her in the sea, although strongly urged by Tobukulu to do so, and took the child home with her to Eua. In process of time Hemoana came to Eua to visit his relatives there, and he and Tafakula added another to the family's record of unwitting incest, but the unholy succession was stopped by Tafakula's battering the fruit of this union to death with a stone. Offerings were brought to Tafakula, and intercession made, to ensure fruitful seasons, and protection against hurricane and drought. [776] [782]

The suggestion is made by an intelligent Tongan that the name may refer to the red horizon at dawn and sunset. She is the goddess of the light. The island of Eua is high and stands towards the sun-rising from Tongatabu. It would be the first to catch the ruddy glow of the sun as he rose, and would also reflect his last beams as he disappeared below the horizon. Red things are particularly associated with Tafakula, the red varieties of several objects being spoken of as hers. In Eua there is a mound about which are growing two sorts of coconuts, whose Tongan names mean the red nut and the white nut, which is still called the demesne of Tafakula. This mound is probably the site of a house sacred to her. 776 [821] 133 776 [822] [824] [778]

Hina, a goddess widely known throughout Polynesia. Although the body of lore concerning her is not uniform there are numerous and close parallels between the accounts of the various Polynesian peoples. She occurs in several distinct connections in Tongan tradition, each of them presenting points of similarity with accounts from other parts of Polynesia. It will be well to summarise these. 776 191

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

She is generally regarded as the Moon-goddess, and this view was spontaneously put forward by a Tongan in conversation with me.

Tregear, in his Maori Comparative Dictionary, speaks of her as being connected in the Maori accounts with the Ocean-lord, Tinirau, in a very mythical manner. The Tongan myth of her marriage with Jiuilau has been mentioned above.

The tradition of Hina as the sister-wife of the Shark god, Toki-langa-fonua, has already been noticed. This is not her only association with the shark. A Tongan native has told me that in shark-fishing the sharks are often addressed as Hina. In Eueika (Little Eua), an island not far from Eua, Hina is said to be the daughter of the first Tui Tufu, the chief of Eueika. She was very lovely, but one day, whilst sporting in the surf she disappeared, and nothing could be discovered of her fate, till at length she inspired in her father a dream, telling him that through the ill-will of a Samoan god she had been swallowed by a shark, into which the malevolent deity had entered to compass her destruction. Her father thereupon told his people that they need never more fear the shark, as nobody of Eueika would ever more be endangered by one. It is said that as a matter of fact there is no known instance of an Eueika man or woman having been injured by a shark, although both sexes freely and fearlessly swim long distances in the open sea.

In Vavau Hina is the daughter of Maunga-kolua and Tama-tangkia, and sister of Ngatai (Sea, or Seawards) and Fanua (Land). She had a pet shark, which she kept in a pool ashore, till one day, during an exceptionally high tide, which overflowed the pool, it made good its escape to the open ocean. Hina was inconsolable at the loss of her favourite, and started off to seek it, with her parent, rowing three in the canoe. When the shark was at length discovered out at sea Hina, in order to remain near her pet, jumped into the water and became a reef. Her parents commenced to return to shore, but, unwilling to leave their daughter, they too leapt into the sea, and became two rocks. The three-oared canoe flew up into the sky, and became part of the constellation of Orion. Hina's two brothers, Ngatai and Fanua, later set off to seek their father and mother and sister, and became two other rocks or reefs.

Sinailele, the Fijian mother of Tui Motuliki, is probably another appearance of Hina.

The Shark is also the god of the clan of the Tui Tofua, i.e., King, or Chief, of Tofua, a high volcanic island in Haapai, historically interesting as being the island on which Blight landed after the mutiny of the "Bounty," and from which commenced his wonderful open-boat voyage. Tofua is not now inhabited, but people lived there within the memory of living men.

19: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

agreed to build something to be called the Haamonga in after time that should not be destroyed. In the beginning of the work it was portioned out, foreign groups sharing it, Rotuma, Futuna, Uvea, Niua Fo'ou and Niua Toputapu and Samoa. Three stones were cut, two placed upright, earth heaped up between them till it was level with their tops, and the third pushed up, and put in place. Then the earth was removed and used for little platforms *(sia)* where Tui-ta-tui was buried; but the Haamonga stood for a sight."[14]

The position of the trilithon suggests a gateway to the royal compound Heketa. Scattered about are relics of the ancient kings. At one point is the *Maka Fakinanga*, a large upright slab, which, as its name "the Stone to lean against" implies, served as a back rest for the king when he sat down on the little stone-faced mound in one side of which it is set. Hard by are two stone-faced house platforms, one of a single, and the other of three tiers. The blocks are excellently worked, being much superior in finish to the generality of the old Tongan stone monuments. The house which stood on the larger of these platforms had stone posts, well shaped, and with niches at the top to carry the roof beams. They are there today, cast down, alas, and broken. A man who is cultivating Heketa, and acts as a sort of caretaker of the historic spot, says that they were intact till quite recent years. Those who believe that the origin of the trilithon is to be found in the skies may see significance in the fact that the name of Orion's Belt in Samoan is *Amonga*. From this slight hint it is easy to construct a theory of a structure of religious, or astronomical, import, perhaps due to direct Samoan influence, whose name, become unintelligible to later centuries, was altered into an understandable form. A theory of this sort has a certain fascination, but I know of nothing to support it.

In regard to the general question of whence these, and the other large stones used in the burial vaults of the kings, *langi*, were obtained, there is no *a priori* reason why most, if not all, should not have been cut out of the Tongan reefs. They are coral limestone, and fairly large pieces are cut from the reefs to-day for burial vaults. So far as I am aware, however, nobody has seen places on the reefs whence

14. I am indebted to Mr. E. W. Gifford for a copy of this manuscript.

23: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

192 *Fakatokalelei*, ceremony to finish the *tabu* after the death of a chief, end of mourning.

Fakatokotokanaki, proverbial.

Fakatologa, little mound of sand on reef projecting above the water so that a bird can alight on it.

Fakatu'ubake, suddenly, unexpectedly.

Fakatuuta, arrange in a row, collect.

Fakatubutubulagi, high in the air.

Fakatufana'i, to impale.

Fakatukaua, fitted with *tukau*, i.e., a handle let into the bamboo fishing rod.

Fakatukotuka, to reduce speed.

Fakava'e, to put in bottom plaits in leaf girdles and wreaths.

Fakava'e, one method of plaiting flower necklaces and girdles.

[82] → *Fakavainiaku*, streamer of leaf girdle or wreath, ribbon-like streamer.

Fakavakatabu, in the manner of, befitting, a chief's boat.

Fakavara'u, gossip, boasting, ill-natured talk, gesture of incredulity.

Fakinaga, leaning place. *Maka Fakinaga* is name of stone in Heketa against which Tu'i Tonga used to sit.

Fala-efu, kind of mat. (It is much used in burials to cover open vault before new corpse put in; sometimes placed on bottom of vault.)

Fala-fatu, kind of mat (?).

Falahola, a kind of pandanus *(fa)* with small fruit; it is the most highly valued pandanus.

Fala-hulu-kula, mat adorned with red feathers.

Falakumi, a large collection of mats, cloth, etc.

Falanaki, near (cf. *Falala)*.

Fala Late, kind of mat.

Fale-ula, equivalent to *Fale-faiva*, a house built in connection with sport of pigeon-snaring.

Fale-uta, the *matabules*.

Fale-fataki, upper storey of house, house with an upper storey.

Falegaaga, habit, custom, manner.

Falehau, great chief's house.

Fale-siu, house made *tabu* ashore when expedition goes shark or bonito fishing.

Faleta, evacuation of Tui Tonga's bowels at sea.

Fale-tahi, lit. sea-house, i.e., the sailors or fishermen of a chief (cf. *Fale-uta)*.

Fale-toua, house where *kava* utensils kept.

Fale-vaka, deck-house of a boat.

Fa-lotuma, a kind of pandanus *(fa)*.

Fanakega, a zone of the sky. The Tongan astronomy divided the sky into three such zones, northern, southern and central (v. *Tongan Astronomy and Calendar)*.

Fanaki, } cluster of stars, con-
Fanakiga, } stellation.

Fano-ua, go in pairs. Applied frequently to pigeons or doves.

Fanofano'i, to transfer *mana* to another person.

Fanohoko, go gently round to opposite quarter (applied to wind).

Fanua, sea close inshore (opposite to *Gatai)*.

Fasi-a-malu, early evening.

Fataga, bundle.

Fatakau, first appearing of bud in certain sweet-smelling plants.

Fataki-nima, two persons carrying something between them on their clasped hands.

Fatalua, name of a constellation; probably same as *Fatanalua* (v. *Tongan Astronomy and Calendar*, p. 7).

Fatu, count, reckon; compose poetry (v. also Baker s.v.).

23: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

192 *Toka*, cross-pieces laid on long longitudinal beams in house.

Toka-'a-buaka, lit. lying of pig, used, e.g., of wrestlers on the ground so confused that it is difficult to distinguish one from the other.

Tokaga, place where crabs collect and burrow.

Toka-ligoligo, calm.

Tokalinoa, with boulders lying about in various directions (?).

Tokamohu, hiccough.

[821] ← *Tokavaha*, lying between. Winds are named from geographical features, and this word indicates a wind between two such features.

Tokcia, attend, watch carefully; strike, pummel.

[226] ← *Toki-a-liu*, first shark caught by a boat (there is a festival to mark the event).

Toko-moulu, go secretly, quietly.

Tolo, sexual intercourse (this is doubtful, and in any case seems not to be primary meaning).

Toloni, apparently a kind of necklace.

Tolosia, rusted, rotten.

Tolovcifua, presentation to a family on such an occasion as a birth or death.

Tonumia, buried. (Syn. *tanumia.)*

Totoa, name of a grass (called *masalu* in Vava'u).

Toto'eitu, a tree with stinging leaves (plentiful in Eua; also called *Salato).*

Toto'oga, plural of *to'oga.*

[754] ← *Totofisi*, a plant with dark purplish leaves. (It was very potent in witchcraft.)

Totoka-fanua, misty and calm.

Totokia, a war weapon (perhaps a type of club), sharpened at one end for striking downwards.

Tu, move. Cf. *Tutu, tuki*, etc.

Tu, interjection, Ah, indeed, yes.

Tu, Oa, Ioia, Ia, E, I-o, Ioi, Lioi, responses and exclamations in chanties sung whilst hauling heavy weights.

Tua ofa, respectful and affectionate address to a high chief.

Tua ofa 'eiki

Tua-utu, edge of burial mound.

Tuafale, top of house on boat, bridge of ship.

Tuaga, place where dregs are thrown. *Tuaga efe*, place where dregs after straining *kava* are thrown.

Tuakoi, leaning against each other.

Tuia, believe, believing.

Tuibabanu, a kind of club.

Tuiga-babai, one sort of necklace.

Tui-kako, plaiting flowers together to form a wreath, or necklace.

Tuila, a shell-fish. V. *Bikitogo.*

Tuitalavalu, a club, somewhat resembling the *likuvalu* (q.v.).

Tuituivao, a wreath or necklace of flowers; also the name of a plant used in making the scented wreaths and girdles.

Tu'ona, pulled, jerked. Cf. *Tu'o.*

Tu'uola, apparition of spirit apart from body.

Tu'u'ulu, head foremost.

Tu-uefiafi, the evening star, Venus. (Also called *Tabukitea.)*

Tu'u-ofi, urinate. Syn. *Tu'utata* (Baker).

Tu'ula, delight, pleasure.

Tu'ulaga, meaning uncertain.

Tu'umama'o, evacuate bowels.

Tu'u ki vai, go on a voyage.

Tu'umoa, an early stage in formation of fruit of banana and plantain.

Tu'usiki, squat on heels.

Tu'u tauhoa, standing in couples, a manner of placing dancers, each man in front row having a woman immediately behind him, or vice versa, or men and women alternating in same row.

Tu'u-tobe, hasten.

23: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

802 counter calls aloud: "One, two, three," and so on up to ten, when a second man rises, holding a staff, and calls: "One." Then the counter goes on with the second ten, "One, two, three," and so on till the second ten is completed, when the man with the staff calls: "Two." So it goes on, the first man counting the individuals in groups of ten, the second man keeping the tally of tens, till one hundred, ten tens, is reached, when the second man calls "One hundred," and a third man jumps up and calls "One." The second hundred is counted in the same way as the first by the same two men, and when it is completed the third man, who has been silent meanwhile, calls "Two." If the number be so great that the tenth hundred is completed, the third man, he who keeps the tally of hundreds, calls "One thousand," and a fourth man joins in, and says "One," and it will be his task to keep the tally of the thousands.

PROVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS.

128 Since the publication of *Proverbial Sayings of the Tongans* (Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu, 1922) several other sayings have been collected, and are now added as supplementary to the previous collection.

539 195 539 1. *E taha ha lau, tagi ki he ba'a, tagi ki he fanua.* What a lot of talk, cry to be barren, cry to have children. Used of one whose complaints and requests are incompatible, who is never satisfied, but always wants something different. The saying is attributed to Maui Kisikisi, who, when his mother complained of his idleness, set to work digging so vigorously that he shook the whole island of Eua, whereupon his mother complained of the dangerous disturbance he was creating. Maui expressed his exasperation in this saying, and flung his digging-stick far from him. Where the digging-stick struck the earth it scooped out into a huge hole, and out through the cliff-face into the sea, making an archway through the solid rock, all of which the unbeliever may see for himself on the weather coast of Eua.

539 195 [821] [753] 2. *'Oku 'ikai ke tuhu'i 'e ha taha 'ae umata.* One does not point at the rainbow. To point at the rainbow causes a swelling of the limb wherewith the pointing is done. Even to-day children are taught by their parents not to point at the rainbow.

3. *'Oku lava 'aé Tu'i Toga.* The Tu'i Tonga is garbed ceremonially *(lava)*. This seems to indicate what is of so great importance that even the Tu'i Tonga takes note of it.

[825] 4. *Be kuo lulu mai mai be kuo kalae mai?* Does he come an owl or a rail? The meaning is: "Does he come full-handed or empty-handed?" it being held that when the owl comes he usually brings something with him, whereas the rail does not.

5. *Fakalogo ki kafa.* Obeying, judging by, cord. The idea is that of a vessel dropped down a deep well, attached to a cord. The drawer of water cannot see when the vessel is full, but judges by the feel of the cord when it has reached the water, and when it is full. Figuratively the expression indicates sounding, feeling about, for information of that which is uncertain, out of sight.

6. *Futa kaunahu.* Pride (through the) mat-edge. This is an expression from the game of *lafo*. The *kaunahu* is the raised edge, or

23: Coll cott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

539
195

19. *Kuo vala 'ae fonua.* The land is clad, i.e., protected, not exposed to its enemies.

20. *Lelei 'ae fale kae kovi 'ae bou.* The house is good but the posts are bad. This indicates a person whose body is well-built, but whose legs are thin.

21. *Tau 'i tu'a faga.* Reached land outside the anchorage. This is used of unsuccessful effort, as of a boat which has not been able to make the anchorage, but has had to come in wherever she could.

22. *Tau fegogo fai fua ki 'ulu.* Struggle leaning on, helping each other, direct the course ahead. This indicates persons struggling along, helping each other with an already great burden, but going on always to greater things.

23. *To'a-ki-kaume'a.* Brave-for-friend. Courage on behalf of a friend. In connection with this expression is told the devotion of the daughter of cannibal parents who sacrificed herself to save a girl friend.

PHASES OF THE MOON IN TONGA.

114

Some time ago I wrote a short paper containing all that I had then been able to gather concerning the naming of the days and nights.* Since then a Tongan manuscript has come into my hands with some fresh, and some confirmatory, material bearing on this subject. I translate it for comparison with my earlier paper:—

114
127
[128]
821

Matakila, when the moon begins to appear, and is said to be seen by gods and only afterwards by men.

Faka-ua and so on to *Faka-valu*. There is no *Faka-hiva*, or higher number, but the moon is then called *Tu'u-efiafi*, risen at evening, or in the afternoon.

Bunifaga, when the moon is bigger than half.

Fuofuavale, almost full moon.

Katoa-to, full moon, but setting (before day-break?).

Fakatau-ata, setting after dawn *(ata)*.

Mama-loa, the moon sets just before sun-rise, and rays are seen both of the moon which has just disappeared, and of the sun which is about to appear.

Feahouaki, the moon has risen whilst it is still day, and is in the sky when the next day breaks.

Uluaki ahoia, the moon is still in the sky when the day breaks.

Tafaleu, when the flattening of one side of the moon's disc becomes apparent.

Ma'una, the moon is still in the sky when day has broken, but is past the full. This is a night that is noted by the bonito-fishers.

Matofitele, the waning of the moon is very apparent.

Lekeleka, the moon is very small.

Lekeleka mate, the moon has almost disappeared.

The writer adds a note that there are 14 names for the phases of the moon.

[113]

* *Tongan Astronomy and Calendar* (Occasional Papers, B.P. Bishop Museum, Vol. 8, No. 4, Honolulu, 1922).

26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9
Samoa OU8

Animate Representative	Tonga	Samoa
Fowl	-	4
Kingfisher	1	2
Heron	2	1
Snipe	1	-
Tern	1	1
Mannali'i	1	1
Kaleva	1	-
Fuia	-	1
Turtle	-	5
Stingray	-	2
Octopus	2	7
Shark	5	-
Eel	1	4
Sea-eel	2	4
Sea-snake	2	-
Mullet	1	5
Vete	1	-
Cockle	-	1
Shell-fish *(fuhu)*	1	-
Sea-urchin	-	1
Land crab	-	1
Lizard	2	3
Centipede	-	2
Butterfly	-	1
	31	64

Human form occurred with three gods in Tonga and with five in Samoa. These were spiritual or ghostly forms and cannot be classed as animate representatives, even though they were credited with movement. The human living representative was strictly speaking the inspirational priest when possessed by the god.

Natural phenomena in the form of the moon (3), rainbow (2), star (1), lightning (1), and cloud (1), occurred in Samoa as representatives of the gods, but they have not been recorded for Tonga by the authorities consulted. Though not living representatives, they could yet convey information from their appearance and apparent movement.

Some representatives such as sea-urchins and shell-fish were probably merely taboo to the god or, in other words, could not be eaten by the god's worshippers.

(To be continued.)

[pp. 54-84 not processed]

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

of true love, errant fancy may have been attracted by some other charmer. In all cases the procedure is the same. Recourse is had to a white missionary or native pastor to dissolve the oath. In the cases that have come to my own notice the clergy, European and Tongan, have refused to be parties to this superstitious use of the Bible, and have sent the suitors away with a little healthy advice.

In reference to murder Mariner remarks, "An old mataboole used to say, that useless and unprovoked murder was highly offensive to the gods, and that he never remembered a man guilty of it but who either lived unhappily, or came to an untimely end." The gods sometimes turned peevish for less weighty reasons than wanton homicide. Soon after the introduction of Christianity into Tongatabu, and before it had spread throughout the whole island, Boiboi, the chief of a still heathen district, became very ill, and was carried on a stretcher to the priest of his god. After a time the priest was seized by the convulsive movements which indicated his possession by the deity, and then informed the waiting assembly that the god had been away in a different part of the island at a single-stick match, but had now returned. He had been very angry with Boiboi because the latter used to make an insulting gesture with his eyes, but he was now reconciled to him, and the chief would recover. Boiboi honored the declaration by an immediate recovery, and rising from the stretcher he went off quite well.

MANA

GENERAL REMARKS

Another important conception, shared by the Tongans with their neighbors of the Pacific, is that of mana. Whilst tabu inculcates the duty of man towards the occult, mana indicates the mysterious forces in operation. The range covered by this idea is very wide, and there has sometimes been a tendency to dogmatize too positively on the inability of peoples at the Tongan level of culture to conceive abstractions. Mana is rendered in English as a wonder or miracle, and is employed in this sense in the vernacular version of the Bible. It is a common word for thunder. An adjective (*mana'ia*) containing this root is used of a man who is especially attractive to women. It

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

It probably occurs in the word for breath (*manava*), which again is used of the womb, though apparently without strict anatomical precision. This same word is found in compounds meaning fear (*manava-jii* "little manava or breath," *manava-he* "wandering manava"), and courage (*manava-lahi* "great manava"). Taking this class of words together the primary significance of mana seems to be living power or force, and the word for breath and womb perhaps means the place or seat of this power or force.

OMENS

The occult forces of the universe frequently manifest themselves as warnings to mankind, and hence arises one of the commonest uses of the word mana, namely an omen. Many of these omens are still known and more or less believed in. A considerable number are concerned with impending calamity to a chief. Usually of course the portent would occur in a locality or in an object which had some relation to the threatened lord. In the island of Uiha in Haapai is a spring which turned red as a warning of the approaching death of the chiefs connected with that place. A rock in the western district of Tongatabu indicated in some way a similar catastrophe. The breaking off, in calm weather, of branches of the banyan tree is an omen of the death of a great chief. The large tree in eastern Tongatabu under which Captain Cook addressed the natives fell down a few years ago, and this proved to be an omen of the death of the late King George II, though His Majesty survived the tree by about two years. The roaring of the sea on the wide flats skirting a good length of the shore of western Tongatabu is also the sign of the death of a chief. At the time of the death of King George I there was an unusually protracted spell of rainy weather. This too was mana, though apparently not so much an omen of the king's approaching end as a sympathetic disturbance of the supernatural powers accompanying the passing of this truly great man. Some still affirm that this king's death was presaged by the approach of a great shoal of fish to the coast of Tongatabu. At Kolovai, in western Tongatabu, the village of the high chief Ata, are several casuarina trees where the flying-foxes are protected by a tabu. These trees with their clus-

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

ters of animal fruitage have often been photographed, and are widely known. Tradition speaks of a white flying-fox whose appearance is the sign of the approaching death of Ata. The other flying-foxes give this uncanny visitor wide elbow room. The tradition of the occasional appearance of a white flying-fox is correct, as the present Ata has seen no less than three—the last no longer ago than last year. This last one, maimed by a broken wing, fell into the possession of Ata himself, who was tending it, purposing on its recovery to present it to the queen, but unfortunately dogs or pigs snipped its vital cord. Ata, who is a very robust and athletic man in young middle life, has manifested no alarming symptoms as a result of being honored by a visit from the ominous creature. A white flying-fox figures in an old story as being used for divination by Bunga, chief of Boha in eastern Tongatabu.

Mr. W. H. Murley of Haapai and Mr. Gifford of the University of California have severally come across instances of fog being regarded as ominous of the death of a chief. Difference of opinion evidently prevails as to the rationale of this portent. Mr. Murley, who is exceptionally well versed in Tongan custom and tradition, speaks of a mist on the sea as ominous, whilst very good native opinion has assured me that the mist only presages evil when it is over the land. Several birds are also ominous. Should a traveler find a kingfisher persistently flying about him, that is a warning to relinquish his journey and return home. The hooting of an owl in the evening near a dwelling is the publication of the pregnancy of a woman in the house. The crowing of a cock in the afternoon (perhaps early evening) is a harbinger of evil unless he be answered by another cock. The crying of the rail at night is an omen of death, and the direction of his flight indicates the place in which the doomed person shall be buried. Mr. Murley notes that as he was sitting with a native a kingfisher entered the room, and his native friend became very uneasy at this circumstance as a portent of evil. Not only the kingfisher is thus ominous. Mr. Murley's friend informed him "that evil spirits come in with the rubbish, and lizards and rats as well as kingfishers." A similar instance came under my own observation. A *fuleheu* (*Ptilotis curunculata*) came into my room, and a native

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

windward and in the evening were close in with 'Kotoo[1] (the next isle to Toofoà), which with the shoal that lyes to the NW of it and the other islands mention'd the day we left Anna'mooka form a good defence from the S°ly wind which now blew, but though we intended to anchor found no ground with less than fifty fathom close in, so that we brought to with the maintopsail to the mast at six o clock, and also the Discovery, but afterwards stood off and on having scarcely made three leagues to windward all day. In the middle watch this morning one of our people fell from the jib-boom into the sea but luckily caught hold of a rope as the ship had not much way.

Two or three Canoes came off from the islands with some Yams and bread fruit, though it blew fresh, and the nine whom we have on board seem not to have the least apprehension of danger from being drove off by a strong wind or any other accident.

SATURDAY 31. *Lat.* Obs. 19:49:34 S. The wind SE and ESE. Fresh breezes which increas'd to a brisk gale towards night with dark cloudy weather. A moderate sea. Before day light we stood between Kotoo and the isles east from it making several tacks so that we kept nearly in our station. At day light we stood pretty close in with it, thinking there might be a passage between it and the reef which is calld Ko'koppo[2] to the S°ward, but being doubtfull about it we bore away round the NW point of the reef (which extends a good way to the SE) and then haul'd our wind. We made several boards in the day but gaind very little, as we only just made the point of the reef again in the evening, & the sea being smoother here we stood in again to our last nights station and made short boards.

[JUNE 1777]

SUNDAY JUNE 1st. The wind ESE and E. Fresh breezes and some brisk squalls in the forenoon but afterwards rather more moderate. The weather dark and cloudy with a good deal of rain in the forenoon and afterwards some flying showers. Before day light we stood between Kotoo and Fotoo'hàà but our coming into this place for smooth water had like to have cost us dear, as we almost run on a shole that lyes to the eastward of a small sandy island with a single bush call'd Pootoo Poo'tooa[3] near Ha'faiva about three in the morning. As it was very dark and blowing fresh we were close upon it before it was perceiv'd so that the only method left to save the ship was to throw all a-back, which being done very quickly she wore round though then to appearance scarcely two or three times her length from the broken

[1] Kotu. [2] Hakau Kopau. [3] Putuputua.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

137 to any country that produces them. The Boogo which is the largest tree of the country, and a species of fig with narrow pointed leaves are the most conspicuous for their size,[1] and on the uncultivated spots especially towards the sea the most common bushes and small trees are the Pandanus, several sorts of Hibiscus, the Faitanoo already mentioned and a few others. It ought also to be observ'd that though the materials for forming grand Landscapes are wanting, there are many of what might at least be calld neat prospects about the cultivated grounds and dwelling places, but more especially about the Fyatokkas or burying grounds, where sometimes art, sometimes 132 nature has done much to please the eye. From its situation towards the tropic the climate is more variable than in countrys farther within that line, though perhaps that might be owing to the season of the year which was now the winter solstice. The winds are for the most part from some point between S and E, and when moderate are commonly attended with fine weather. When they blow fresher the weather is often cloudy though open, and in such a case there is frequently rain. It sometimes blows from that quarter for a fortnight together and will then veer to the NE, NNE or even NNW, but never lasts long nor blows strong from thence though it is commonly accompanied by heavy rain and close sultry weather. Very hot weather and lightning are almost sure presages of a change, and that commonly to rain, but seldom to strong winds which indeed from 821 many circumstances are probably very rare here. The natives are very sensible of the changeable weather and seem tolerable judges of what will happen, so far at least that they manage their sea affairs from such a knowledge, and are often glad at the approach of rain (though it is immediately disagreeable to them) from the advantage deriv'd to their Yams &c by it. The quick succession of Vegetables has been already mentioned, but I am not certain if the changes by which that is brought about are considerable enough to make them perceptible to the natives as to their method of life, or rather that 132 they should be very sensible of the different seasons. The heat often rais'd the Thermometer to degrees while we stay'd and I imagine when the sun is vertical it will not be above degrees more, so that if we consider the effect as produc'd gradually the difference cannot be very great; though perhaps the most convincing proof of this small change is the state of the vegetable creation which is never so much affected by them with respect to the foliage as to shed that all at once; for every leaf is succeeded by another as fast as it falls

[1] The Puko, *Hernandia ovigera*, can grow as high as 65 feet; and the *Ficus obliqua* upwards of 100 feet.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

upper side, which is a little curv'd, fix'd to a yard near three times as long as the mast. This hoists up to the top of the mast, making the sail incline obliquely upwards & backwards, with the lower point in an opposite direction projecting considerably before the mast. The base is the upper part of the sail, & the long side of the triangle the after & lower part: it is made of mat, sometimes a kind of streamer flying from the after angle. In working to windward they shift the sail to the opposite side in tacking, which is done very quickly from the great command two very large paddles which they steer with have over them. In these cases the little time they lose and the fast rate of the Boats sailing makes them gain very quickly, for in a gentle breeze which would set our ship about three knots it has been found they went seven, and before the wind with smooth water & a fresh breeze it may easily be conceivd they must go more than double that. They carry from forty to fifty people, and some sixty or seventy. The size of one of the largest as measurd was twenty five paces, the extreme breadth (of one boat) about three feet, and the depth including the rais'd plank five and a half: the length of the stage was eleven paces and the breadth near six. The sail of a smaller one measur'd seventeen paces on the longest side, the upper or base of the triangle twelve, and the yard to which the other side is fix'd nineteen. They are built of much larger planks than the small ones and seemingly with as few as they can, but notwithstanding their care in joining them they are so liable to leak that they are oblig'd to be frequently bal'd out. There are a few of the single kind that have such a sail as this, with a large heavy outrigger which supplys the place of another boat to ballance it,[1] but their distant Navigations are performd in the others. How far that extends is not very certain, but it is probable they have some knowledge of Cocos and Traitors island[2] which is five degrees to the Northward, or at least have communication with others who frequent that place, from a circumstance they say happen'd not many years ago of a ship larger than ours visiting these places, from whence they had their knowledge of iron renew'd (as they must have had some from Tasman) and was probably the Dolphin, who in her second voyage fell in with them, and were call'd Keppel and Boscawens Islands by Capt[n] Wallace. However that may be it is certain there are islands within their own knowledge which take them three, four or five days sail to which they are directed by the fix'd stars, many of which they have names for and some bear the names of the islands they direct to, but when it is dark in the night or

[1] This type of canoe was called the *kamatafua*.
[2] Niuatoputapu and Tafahi.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

rains hard in the day they are guided by the swell of the sea & wind. As another proof of the distance or at least of the stay they make at some places, they always carry a considerable quantity of Cloath, matts &c and provisions, the last of which they dress on a sort of hearth made of sand & stones plac'd near the fore part of the stage. The number of people, amongst which are always several women, being at least four times more than is sufficient to Navigate the Boat implys some other business, though perhaps it may be for the relief of each other: for here as in all other cases there seems to be such a perfect unity amongst them that when they are oblig'd to paddle from a calm or any other accident, the whole crew and rowers themselves join in songs and a musical recitative to give an agreement to their strokes and ease the irksomness of that unvaried labour.

The only tools they have to make these boats are Hatchets, or rather thick Adzes, of the smooth black stone mentioned before (but some want the projecting part behind), an augur made of a sharks tooth fix'd on a small handle, and a rasp of a rough fishes skin laid over & fastend on a flat piece of wood thinner on one side with a handle. The vast labour they must be at and the time that is spent with their [boats], being perhaps their most perfect mechanical production, are probably the reasons for being so carefull of them, for they are built and preserv'd under long shades of two sides which reach to the ground & incline towards the top, so that the ends which are both open represent a half ellipsis on its base; but when that cannot be done they always cover the deck'd part with Cocoa leaves after they are haul'd on shore to prevent the sun hurting them.

The same tools are all they have for other works, if we except different shells which they use as knives, but there are few that require these unless it is some of their weapons, the other articles being chiefly their fishing materials, cordage and a few others. The Cordage is made from the fibres of the Cocoa nut husk, which though not more than nine or ten inches long they plait about the size of a quill or less to any length they please, & roll it up in balls from which the larger rop[e]s are made by many of these being tied together and twisted. The lines they fish with are made from the [1] and are as strong and even as the best cord we make, resembling it almost in every respect. Their other things for that purpose are large and small hooks, made with a pretty straight back and a point fix'd on the inside near the end. The last are made entirely of pearl shell, but the first only coverd on the back with it, & the points of both commonly of tortoise shell, those of the small being plain the others

[1] Tou, not the *Malachia* but *Pipturus argenteus*, widely used for this purpose in the Pacific.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

enter'd by the people, the Ceremony call'd Natche was Taboo'd to all but those assisting in it, and in short it is the common expression when any thing is not to be touch'd, unless the transgressor will risque some very severe punishment as appears from the great apprehension they have of approaching any thing prohibited by it. In some cases it appears to resemble the Levitical law of purification, for we have seen several women who were not allow'd the use of their hands in eating but were fed by other people. On enquiring the reason of it at one time they said that one of the women had wash'd the dead body of the chief already mentiond who died at Tonga, and another who had assisted was in the same predicament, though then a month after the circumstance happen'd. It also serves as a temporary law or edict of their chiefs, for sometimes certain articles of food are laid under the restriction, and there are other circumstances regulated in the same manner as trading &c when it is thought necessary to stop it; nay it is probable that the additional word taboo to the name of the island which is simply Tonga has been added from this very custom as expressing its singularity.

From the extent and rigid severity with which some of these mourning and religious ceremonys are executed one would expect to find they think it would secure them felicity in a future life, or some other material good, which is really the case but it relates to things merely temporal, for they seem to have little conception of future punishment for faults comitted in this life. They however believe that they are justly so on earth and consequently use every method to avoid or rather not to deserve the punishment annex'd to them. The supreme Author of most things they call Kalla foo'tonga[1] who they say is a female, resides in the skys and directs the thunder, winds, rain and some other things that seem to proceed from thence. They alledge that when she is angry with them the productions of the earth are blasted in consequence of it, many things are destroyed by lightning, and they themselves are afflicted with sickness & death as well as hogs & other animals—evils so great to them that it is no wonder they should endeavour to avert them by all the means in their power. When this anger abates every thing is restor'd to its natural order and it would appear they think it a consequence of their endeavours to appease it. They have no representation of this divinity, who they say is invisible, but there is little doubt that they pay that adoration due to their ideas of her power and perfection, though not discoverable from any particular external posture that

[1] Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 289–90) thinks this goddess was properly named Calla [?Kala] Filatonga, but otherwise cannot identify her.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

denotes local worship. The Malaees are however doubtless public places for that purpose, as their solemn rites are perform'd there, and their superiority with respect to situation and extent which far exceeds any of their private habitations argues; besides there can be no other reasonable conjecture offer'd about the persons who pronounc'd the orations in performing the Natche & the two that began the same thing when we first went with Poulaho, than that they were no other than priests and at that time absolutely prefering some petition to this invisible being. The next part of their creed is a belief in the plurality of deitys, though all inferior to this one, amongst whom they mention Toofooa boolootoo[1] god of the clouds and fogg, Talle te'boo[2] and some others residents of the heavens. The first in rank and power, who has the government of the sea and its productions, is call'd Footo'fooa[3] who they say is a male and has for wife Fykava ka'jeea,[4] and here as in heaven there are several inferior ones as Va'háá-fonooa;[5] Tareeava;[6] Matta'ba-E'varoo[7] &c. The same religious system does not however extend all over the cluster of isles; for the supreme god of Hapaee for instance is call'd Alo Alo,[8] and other isles have two or three of different names, but their notions of the power and other attributes of these beings would be reckond erroneous with us, as they suppose that after death they have no farther concern with them.

They have however very proper notions of the immateriality and immortality of the soul. They call it life, the living principle or what is more agreeable to their notions of it an O'tooa,[9] divinity or invisible being, and say that immediately on death that of their chiefs seperates from the body and goes to a place calls 'Boolootoo,[10] the chief or god of which is Gooleho.[11] This Gooleho seems synonymous with our Death, for all (even you & the men of Feejee speaking to us) say they are subject to the power and dominion of Gooleho. They feign that this country was never seen by any person, is to the westward beyond Feejee[a] (from whence one might suppose it is the most distant land they know, as many nations have plac'd their heaven in such a

[a] This shows that their notions of distance & duration extend but a little way as they suppose an everlasting place may be on the globe.

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[1] Probably this is the same as Mariner's 'Too'i fooa Bolotoo'—Tu'i fua Pulotu, 'Chief of all Pulotu'—Pulotu being the afterworld.

[2] Taliaitupou, the god of the Tu'i Kanokupolu; also god of war.

[3] This god eludes me, even though 'first in rank and power'.

[4] Faikavakisia, elsewhere said to be male.

[5] Fakafanua, or Tu'i Haa Fakafanua. [6] Taliafa ? [7] Matapa'i-valu ?

[8] Aloalo was 'God of wind and weather, rain, harvest, and vegetation in general', says Mariner, II, p. 107. His sanctuary was in Lifuka.

[9] *'Otua.* [10] Pulotu. [11] Hikuleo.

61: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 a flowering tree) who was created by the tropic bird. Tavake, 'tropic bird,' symbolises the highest male chief in the land, in this case Tungi Mailefihi. He was the highest direct descendant of the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua--which is a higher blood line than that of the present line of Kings, the Tu'i Kanokupolu (see Chapter II). The nature symbolism continues in the second line with Tungi being plucked by
[821] the warm breeze. A warm breeze is sometimes equated with Tonga. The line of poetry says that Tonga, the land of warm breezes, has picked Tungi for their next King. Fragrance is considered desirable and good, and the next line of poetry says that no one is surprised at Tungi's greatness (fragrance because he is a kulukona flower) because he is of double chiefly parentage. Fakatoukatea is a double canoe with both sides equal and this poetically refers to chiefly descent on both sides. Tungi is also sacred which is suggested by the place name Moʻotapu--tapu meaning 'sacred.'

The allusions, phrased in terms of nature symbolism, refer to Tungi and his genealogy, though neither of these concepts is mentioned
595 in words. The dance motifs, in turn, allude to these allusions, and
539 not to Tungi or his ancestry.

The choreography[2] of the words is as follows: Kulukona is choreographed by M.I.a.2./M.I.b.27. (of the M.I.a.2. paradigm, p.

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[2] 'Choreography' will be used in this paper to refer to a pre-set arrangement of dance movements. In Tonga these exist only in the oral tradition and are in no way represented by signs as the dictionary definition of choreography implies.

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> Their gods who are intelligent agents are demons or the departed spirits of men eminent in their day for their abominations while gods irrational and inanimate swell the number to an almost Grecian amount (Watkin, Journal, February 4, 1836).

This Watkin example was referred to in the previous chapter (p. 35) and I stress once again the fact that the ethnohistorical researcher must evaluate the specific descriptions in the context of the observer-observed milieu. To the Tongans of the early 19th Century, 'otua was a spirit and a god whereas to the Wesleyan's 'otua was a demon, devil, or the aboriginal god.

127 Factual consistency, both internal and external, must be constantly checked for by the ethnohistorical researcher. The following Watkin description proves to be internally consistent with his last description in reference to "inanimate" aboriginal Tongan gods:

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> In the long list of Tonga gods was the rainbow and the Whirlwind. Eclipses were grand sources of dread especially of the sun to remove they resorted to human sacrifices, and as a lesser offering to that of cutting off the little finger a loss which most of the adult inhabitants of these Islands have sustained. Sometimes they attempted to deceive their gods by merely scarifying the finger previously amputated and smearing it with blood bind it up and present that before the god as a recent amputation in his honour! But this was I suppose when every available joint of both little fingers had been sacrificed on former occasions (Watkin, Ibid., February 12, 1836).

These two entries by Watkin, of February 4 and February 12, serve as a check on his own internal consistency in his descriptions. External consistency checks on the digital, or actually phalanx amputation, is provided in the account of an early 19th Century French voyager who visited Tongatapu in 1827:

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

The *kau* Tangaloa were principally creator gods and there were no temples or priests dedicated to them (Gifford 1929:289) and the creator of some of the islands of Tonga and of the first people, Kohai, Koua and Momo (Thomas 1879: 12). The *kau* Maui were believed to have fished up most of the islands of the Tongan group. One Maui was also believed to carry the earth upon his shoulder, and an earthquake was supposed to be caused either by a Maui changing the earth from one shoulder to another, or falling asleep and nodding his head. Hikule'o was believed to control the weather and the fertility of the land. The Tu'i Tonga was regarded as her representative on earth and the annual *'inasi* offerings to the Tu'i Tonga were actually offered to her.[6]

Although the principal deities were widely recognised, they were not as important in everyday affairs as the gods who were confined to particular localities. Thus each chief and his people had their own gods. These were usually the spirits of their dead chiefs. It was believed that when members of the chiefly class died they (or their spirits) went to Pulotu where Hikule'o resided. There they became gods of secondary order, and were thought to return to earth in the form of sharks, various animal species, and, in one case, an octopus, or were embodied in a whale tooth, a shell or a carved piece of wood (Gifford 1929:289-90; Wilson 1799:272; Te Rangi Hiroa 1935:12).

These secondary gods were consulted in the event of war or before embarking on long sea voyages, and sacrifices were offered to them in cases of illness (Collocott 1921:158). The offerings to the gods were made through a priest, and if he were dissatisfied he would ask 'Do you think I am going to take any notice of such paltry things as you have brought?' The poor people on hearing this would go to fetch more costly gifts and sometimes, if they received no assistance from the first deity to whom they had sacrificed, they would visit five or six gods in succession. If they obtained satisfaction, it was believed that the gods were pleased and were pleading on their behalf with the venerable

[6] Some thought that Hikule'o was a male god (Lawry 1850:251); Collocott 1921:152).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 8]

132 **Temperature**

Tongatapu experiences a mean annual temperature of 74°F (23°C) with only limited diurnal and seasonal variation. The mean diurnal temperature difference over a 22 year period (from 1949 to 1971) was only 11°F (6°C). During this time period, the following extremes were recorded: a high temperature of 89°F (32°C) on February 9, 1955; a low temperature of 51°F (10°C) on August 4, 1951; a high daily temperature range of 31°F (17°C) on January 22, 1971; and a low daily temperature range of 1°F (less than 1°C) on June 20, 1952.

The seasonal temperature range is only 8°F (4°C), based on mean values of 70°F (21°C) for the coldest months (July and August). [821] Tongans recognize a "warm or summer" season (faha'ita'u mafana) from November to April, and "cold or winter" season (faha'ita'u momoko) from May through October.

There is little variation in temperature regimes for different stations throughout the island. [133] As stated by Kennedy (1959: 19), "On winter nights, the temperature near Fua'amotu, 270 feet (83 meters) above sea level in the highest portion of the island, is (only) 2 to 3°F (1 to 2°C) lower than at Nuku'alofa (sea level)".

Air Movement

The prevailing winds are the trades which blow from the east and southeast with remarkable regularity through-

132 out the year (Table 2) and have a definite moderating effect on the yearly temperature range. From May to November, the winds blow mainly from the east-southeast, but during the

Table 2. Mean annual frequencies of wind directions (speeds over 3 knots) at Nuku'alofa (1963-1970).

	N	NE	E	SE	S	SW	W	NW
%	6	9	38	26	14	3	3	2

"hurricane season" (from late November to early April) they commonly blow from the east. During this same season, strong winds accompanied by heavy rain occasionally blow from the north or northeast. There is also a period from May to September when southerly winds often predominate.

The mean wind speed throughout the year is 9 knots and the mean range between the calmest and windiest month is only 5 knots. Heavy winds associated with tropical cyclonic activity are occasionally experienced from late November to early April. The frequency of these tropical cyclones is much greater in the northern Tongan islands than in Tongatapu (Cumberland, 1961:16). Nevertheless, these heavy winds, which are referred to by the Tongans as afa, occasionally cause considerable agricultural damage on Tongatapu. Since 1951, there were three tropical cyclones with winds from 40 to over 60 knots. These destroyed, respectively, almost 100%, 50,75% of the currently

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132 bearing banana trees as well as many green coconuts and
731 other food crops in the eastern parts of Tongatapu (Tonga
241 Chronical; January 17, 1960:1, November 27, 1964: 1; and January 16, 1970: 1). Associated with these winds are heavy rains, which add to the damage by loosening the soil and root systems of plants.

[821] Although the cyclonic afā is the most common gale force wind, there are also infrequent local whirlwinds, known as 'ahiohio, which cause considerable damage. Such an 'ahiohio hit the southern islands of the Ha'apai group in January 1968 and destroyed 90 percent of the banana crop as well as coconut trees, breadfruit trees, and other valuable subsistence food crops (Tonga Chronicle, February 2, 1968: 1 and 8).

132 Rainfall

Seasonality in Tonga, as in other tropical areas, is based more on rainfall than on temperature differences. The mean annual rainfall for Tongatapu is 74 inches (187 centimeters) per year, most coming between late November and early April (Table 3). The rainiest year on record was 1971 with 114 inches (291 centimeters). The driest was 1946 with 39 inches (99 centimeters). The wettest day on record was January 24, 1952 with 11 inches (28 centimeters) of rain. The average annual number of rainy days (more than 0.01 inches or 0.025 centimeters) is 167.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

Footnotes:

(1) Thomas, John, *History of the Friendly Islands*, p.1, A.1961. MLS.
(2) Luke, Sir Harry, *Islands of the South Pacific*.
(3) Buck, Peter, *Vikings of the Sunrise*. p.3.
(4) W. W. Howells, Professor of Anthropology at Harvard University, believes that the first Polynesians came to Tonga through Micronesia about 2000 B.C. Carbon-testing by Jans Poulsen, of Denmark and the Australian National University, Canberra, indicated 500 B.C. as the date for middens he found in Tongatapu in 1965. See also Gifford, E. W., *Tongan Myths and Tales*, Bishop Museum. Honolulu, pp.8 &c., for stories common to Tonga, Indonesia and Micronesia; Gifford, *Tongan Society*, p.350, for comparison of ancient Tongan and Japanese social institutions: Collocott, E. E. V., *An Experiment in Tongan History*, Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. XXXIII, No. 3; Hadden, A. B. and Hornell, J., *Canoes of Oceania*, Bishop Museum, pp.339-44, regarding migration of the Polynesians through Indonesia and Micronesia; Sullivan, L. M., *A Contribution to Tongan Somatology*, Bishop Museum, Vol. VIII. No. 4, pp.255-7; Buck, Peter, *Vikings of the Sunrise*; and Heyerdahl, Thor. *Sea Routes to Polynesia*, for another theory of migration.
(5) Gifford. ibid; Collocott. ibid; *"Folk Lore."*, Translations of the Folk-Lore Society, Vol. 35, No. 3, 30 September 1924, pp.279 &c.
(6) Although a tradition states that the stones were brought in a great canoe, Lomipeau, from Uvea, which is actually a volcanic island, the stones were probably obtained from the coral reefs of Tongatapu itself. The transport of the huge stones on rollers and the erection of these monuments, using only stone axes, must have been very laborious. McKern, W. C., *Archaeology of Tonga*. Bishop Museum, gives details of the tombs and the trilithon; and Collocott also. The present king, Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, has shown that the markings on the cross-piece of the trilithon point in the direction of the sun at the summer and winter solstices and evidently denoted the times for yam-planting and for giving first-fruits as a sacred duty to the Tu'i Tonga.
(7) For further particulars on Tongan society, see Gifford, Collocott, and Latukefu, S., *Church and State in Tonga*.
(8) An example of this is the survival of a shipwrecked Tongan crew for 103 days in 1962 on Minerva Reef. Ruhen, Olaf. *Minerva Reef*.
(9) Thomas, J., *History of the Friendly Islands*, p.33, A.1961. M.L.S.
(10) For further particulars of Tongan religion, see Hastings' *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 12, art. "Tongans". Dr. J. E. Moulton; Mariner, W., *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*, &c., Vol. 2, pp.132 &c.; Gifford, *Tongan Society*, pp.287-347; Thomas, J., *History of the Friendly Islands*. A.1961, M.L.S.; West, T., *Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia*, pp.255 &c.; Farmer, S., *Tonga and the Friendly Islands*, pp.125 &c.
(11) Cook, J., *Voyages of Discovery*, Everyman Edition, p.290.
(12) Zimmermann, H., *Account of Third Voyage of Captain Cook*, p.17.
(13) Cook, ibid, pp.287-8.
(14) Cook, ibid, p.265.
(15) Rabone, S., *Journal*, 27 July 1841. Set 47. M.O.M.C.
(16) Langdon, Robert, *Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. 1, 1966, p.186.
(17) Edwards & Hamilton, *Voyage of H.M.S. Pandora, 1790-1*, p.135.
(18) Edwards & Hamilton, ibid, p.134.
(19) Edwards & Hamilton, ibid, p.132.

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/274 cont./

and stories they have heard, and a truly full knowledge of this island world may be assumed among only about half of these men and women. The essentials of world geography are known to approximately 25 - 80 percent, depending on their age group; for instance, there are some who are even able to draw an outline map of Europe from memory.

About one-fifth of the older generation and about one-third of the younger generation know English well to reasonably well (that is, they have the ability to understand English and to make themselves understood. (746)

746. The Tongan language has remained the common national language and, aside from the adoption of a number of words (for the newer concepts) borrowed from English, it apparently has not substantially changed, although for more than a century many Tongans have become acquainted with the English language (see, for example, J.E. Erskine, Journal of a cruise... /cited in English/ London 1853. p. 162).

This knowledge, however, has little practical effect on the everyday life of the broad masses of natives. The essential activity needed for their subsistence is still based on the old, traditional knowledge. The Tongans of the younger generation, however, follow today for the most part the European calendar, in planting and harvesting, whereas half of the middle-aged and probably all of the old generation prefer the old Tongan "calendar"; (747)

747. The December new moon is the first moon of the year; See E.E.V. Collocott, "Tongan astronomy and calendar" /cited in English/ B.P.B.M. Occ. Papers, col. VIII, no. 4. 1922.

weddings and other festivities, however, are quite generally scheduled according to the European calendar. Arithmetic has gained a certain significance in the everyday life of the natives, especially in selling their copra and in their shopping in stores. Many older Tongan men and

100: Koch--416 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

/274 cont./ Many older Tongan men and
805 women still /275/ can not tell their age, (748)
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748. Years were not counted in ancient Tongan times (see ibid. p. 164).

whereas members of the middle-aged generation and especially the young
212 are mostly able to give their exact year of birth. For most of the natives reading is limited to the study of the bible and other church
[205] writings. The average native needs to write only when he has to sign his name to a document; they seldom write a letter to a relative or friend, although there is postal service in the Archipelago.

772 The conception of the world (749)
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749. In ancient Tongan times the natives apparently visualized the world as flat with abrupt precipices on the edges (see J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 134), and they believed there were a number of superimposed sky-domes (see E.E.V. Collcott, Collcott, "Tongan astronomy"... pp. 157/158). For the natives their Archipelago was, of course, the most important of all island territories and, in a way, the center of their known world.

of these islanders was changed fundamentally not only by their Christianization, (750)

750. See p. 375 ff.

772 but also by the knowledge imparted in their schools. The knowledge and
179 belief of the whites took the place of the old myths and tales. Geography and history, cosmology (751)

[821] 751. Modern cosmology, however, did not lead to a revival of a thorough knowledge of the stars which the old Tongans had and which was lost through the use of the compass (see E.E.V. Collocott, "Tongan astronomy..." pp. 157/158).

and European division of time brought a rational conception of the world which was relatively well understood and adopted by many natives. For
[771] most of these natives it is not to be separated from the religious
[212] conception of the world of Christianity in which it seems embedded
[538]

104: Hornell E,N-5 (1925) 1927 OU) Tonga OU9

S24 171 192 names of this figure in the Marquesas, Tonga, and New Zealand can scarcely be a coincidence without meaning. Possibly the original form of the word *koukape* has undergone some mutilation or corruption, leading thereby to a misunderstanding of its significance.

192 The term *kabe* or *kape* is applied in Tonga to *Alocasia macrorrhiza*, an aroid of extremely stout growth, having huge leaves prominently veined. The tubers of *kabe* are used in the same way as those of taro (*talo*).

TOLOA

S24 1. Make the *laukabe* figure.

2. A second player inserts from above the thumb and index of his left hand into and through the marginal triangles *a* and *b* respectively, and similarly his right thumb and index into *c* and *d*, bringing all four digits upwards through the central diamond space *x*. Upon extension the figure *toloa* is formed.

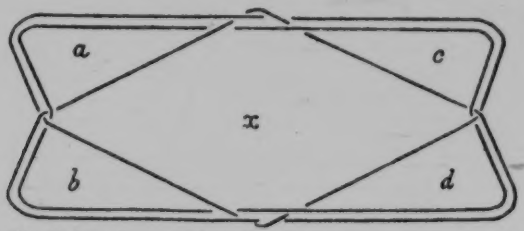

FIGURE 60.—String figure, *toloa* (the Southern Cross), learned from Mrs. Jiojiana Lupe, of Tongatabu, Tonga.

From this another astronomical figure, *humu*, the "coal hole," can be formed.

192 821 In Tongan *toloa* is a wild duck and Collocott (5a) states that "Tongan imagination pictures the Southern Cross as a duck whose head is gamma and tail alpha, the wings being beta and delta"—the dark patch of clear sky near the left end of the cross is *humu*, a kind of fish.

HUMU

S24 The *humu* figure is a continuation of *toloa*. The first player passes his right finger and thumb from above through the corner triangles at one end, *a* and *b* respectively, and those of his left hand similarly through triangles *c* and *d*, at the other end, thereafter turning all four upwards and